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SO far as we have observed, the recent convention of the American Bar Association in its disquisitions wise and otherwise on the lawlessness of the American people missed an opportunity that was under its eyes. On August 6 William Z. Foster, one of the leaders in the great steel strike, now secretary of the Trade Union Educational League, was kidnapped in Denver, Colorado, and, apparently by authority of Adjutant General Hamrock, of Ludlow massacre fame, was forcibly deported from the State. His baggage was taken from him, including the manuscript of a book on which he was working. En route to the border he was lodged for the night in jail. At the Wyoming border a sheriff of that State continued the proceedings, finally dropping him on the open road just inside the eastern boundary of the State with a warning to leave Wyoming. All this was done to an American citizen, charged with no crime, by State officials without shadow of law. How does the Bar Association expect to inculcate regard for the Constitution which public officials so flagrantly violate?

THE poverty of choice offered by our two-party system is again illustrated in the result of the Ohio primaries, where the voters are presented with the alternative of Congressman Fess and of Senator Pomerene as Republican and Democratic candidates for the senatorship. Both are hopelessly reactionary, but of the two Pomerene is the more objectionable because in certain quarters he has acquired a reputation for a kind of democratic liberalism. The frank reactionary is always preferable to the spurious liberal who merely raises high hopes and appears to incarnate ideals only to betray them. Meanwhile there is cheering news from Utah in the renomination by the Democrats of Senator William H. King. If there is appreciation in his home State of faithful, and often courageous, service Utah should return Senator King to office. We have not always agreed with Senator King, but we have faith in his intellectual honesty and his devotion to democratic principles.

HIDES, if the Senate has its way, will remain on the free list and the nation will save a tidy $100,000,000 on its shoe bill. The duty on sugar has been increased by the same Solons and the nation will pay an estimated tribute of $120,000,000 to a handful of American beet and cane sugar growers who no more than our cattlemen can meet our country's needs. There is no reason of principle why the Senate should hand out largess to the one group and refuse it to the other. The explanation is simple. The immediate consumers of hides are shoe manufacturers. They fear no foreign competition and a bribe of a compensating tariff on shoes meant nothing to them. Their Senator is Mr. Lodge of Massachusetts. They told him that if hides should go off the free list he would go out of the Senate. The schedule was defeated. But no group of immediate consumers was well enough organized to beat the sugar growers. Defenders of the new sugar subsidy talk about the exploited labor of foreign countries—Cuba, for instance, from which that part of our supply which we cannot produce is chiefly drawn. But the tariff while it may hinder the development of the Cuban industry will raise no Cuban worker's wages. Neither will it raise wages in American possessions like Porto Rico, against which the beet growers are not protected. The extra bounty will stick in the planters' pockets.

THE new German-American claims commission with Justice Day of the Supreme Court as arbiter will take care of the claims of American citizens against Germany in admirable fashion. It was a stroke of political genius not too common in Germany when the Wirth Government proposed an American arbiter. The claims of German citizens against America owing to the activities of the Alien Property Custodian still wait for Congressional action. If Hugo Junkers, a German airplane manufacturer, should win a suit he has instituted it might hasten the adjustment of German claims. He has asked the United States District Court of New York to enjoin the Chemical Foundation from using a patent confiscated by the United States during the war. On the other hand the Orenstein-Koppel A. G. of Berlin has recently successfully defended a suit brought before Justice A. N. Hand to restrain it from selling goods here through an agency on the ground that it was thereby injuring the business of the American concern which bought its plants and good-will from the Alien Property Custodian. Judge Hand held that in the case of a forced sale, such as the one in question, no obligation, expressed or implied, rests with the seller to refrain from trying to recover some of its trade. The property of German citizens was both unjustly and stupidly handled by Mitchell Palmer and his successor. At no time was it necessary to confiscate German patents. Goods needed by the United States could have been manu-

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factured under a license which would conserve the property right of the patent-holder without defrauding the American public of a needed industrial process.

ORDER has been reestablished in Italy but this does not indicate that the forces of violent reaction have been subdued; they have simply won their round. When the fighting between the Fascisti—Italy's unmasked Ku Klux Klansmen—and the radicals reached an unendurable point of destruction, the Italian Government declared martial law, threw troops into the most disorderly districts, demanded the demobilization of the Fascisti, and in general took what is known as a "firm stand." Disorders continued for a few days and then the Fascisti did, in fact, carry through a demobilization of their shock troops; and a period of comparative peace has ensued. But as the dust began to settle it became evident that the Fascisti had accomplished many of their disastrous ends: They had driven Socialist local administrations bodily out of office; they had smashed workers' halls and killed or captured labor leaders; they had found in local strikes an excuse for attack and slaughter. If peace exists in Italy today, it is an explosive sort of peace. The leaders of the Fascisti themselves in their manifesto calling for demobilization urge all their members to prepare "for the greater battle which will crown our work." Italy is today living under the constant threat of armed revolution from the Right and from the Left, and the determination of the labor groups to abandon all cooperation with other parliamentary factions—described in the International Relations Section of this issue—gives a still more dubious tone to the future.

ONE of the compensating joys to observers of American imperialism is to watch occasional cats escape from ill-guarded official bags. Despite the heroic efforts of senatorial and naval whitewash commissions, "impartial" investigators, and press propaganda, they do somehow manage to claw or mew their way to daylight. We now note a long feature story in the New York Sunday *World* (August 6), the second within a few weeks, about Haitian magicians and mysterious rites, designed, one may safely deduce, to show the Haitians as a superstitious, primitive lot, and not as has been alleged, civilized Catholics. Antique stuff, all this, and not worth notice. What attracts attention particularly is a quoted interview with Captain H. R. Wood, U.S.M.C., who was investigating this story of fraud and magic:

> Taking Paulemon and Desnoyers, I set out within the hour for the other end of the country, warning Desnoyers that if his story was a hoax *he would pay for it with his life, a threat which I determined to put into effect.* (Italics ours.)

Captain Wood served in Haiti as interpreter for the Senatorial Commission which labored greatly to prove that anyone who imputed anything but the most gentlemanly, kindly motives and actions to every mother's son in the Marine Corps was a base defamer and a black besmircher. And while a very occasional marine *private* might have erred, the officers . . . ! So otherwise is it in fact, that Captain Wood will probably not realize the naivete of his confession until someone shows it to him.

RADEK scored when to the protests made by British Socialists he replied that the trial of the Russian Social Revolutionaries in Moscow was akin to that of the assassins of Field Marshal Wilson in London. The Social Revolutionaries were admittedly conspirators seeking to overthrow the bolshevist state by force and violence; they had plotted the assassination of Lenin and other high officials, and as a result of such a party plot Lenin had been wounded. They asserted, with a courageous defiance that provoked unwilling admiration even from their adversaries, that they would continue to fight their revolutionary battle if released. No state in the world would let such people go. They were not, like our raided Communists, mere members of a party whose program might be interpreted to involve force and violence in the future; they were practitioners of violence in the here-and-now. In trying and condemning them the Soviet Government has shown itself remarkably like other governments; the novelty of the trial was chiefly in the latitude allowed to prisoners and outsiders in speech-making. Fourteen of the Social Revolutionaries were condemned to death; three of these are to be pardoned. Execution of the sentences upon the other eleven has been stayed, with the announcement that they will not be executed so long as their party associates outside refrain from more violent acts. This hostage system, a heritage from medieval days, is a disgrace to Soviet Russia; no man should be held responsible with his life for the acts of others. In their early days the Soviet authorities saw the iniquity of capital punishment; too much of the idealistic fire of those days is gone.

THE tragedy of Arthur Griffith's death—and of Ireland—is not only that his country has lost a keen mind and vigorous personality in her hour of need, but that so bitter are the passions engendered by civil war that as he lay dead his name was anathema to thousands of sons and daughters of the land he did so much to recreate. His conception of freedom was singularly limited on its economic and social sides, but few men have done so much to further the cause of Irish nationalism. The vigor of his ideas and his skill as a pamphleteer made him one of the most powerful antagonists of England; his love of peace and his firm grasp on reality made him an equally powerful advocate of the treaty. How long will some grim fate deprive Ireland of leaders when she needs them most?

GIVEN the history of Ireland it is not hard to understand the suspicion and mistrust which drive some Irishmen to fight a compromise treaty with England even with the sword. But it is hard to understand their tactics. What conceivable advantage have the Republicans gained by the destruction of the landing stations of the trans-Atlantic cables which can compensate for the ill-will they have brought upon themselves by seriously impeding the world's communication? And why should they have set Cork on fire before abandoning it? This is rule or ruin with a vengeance. The Black-and-Tan burning of a large section of Cork was rightly set down as one of the chief crimes of British rule. The same sort of destruction does not become a virtue when practiced by defeated Republicans.

MEXICO has protested to the State Department against the killing of two Mexican citizens in the Herrin massacre, and the cruel injuries inflicted upon two others. The Governor of Illinois has formally acknowledged the fatalities. It appears that these Mexicans had set out from Chicago in search of work, had left their train for food, and while sitting in the station restaurant

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were set upon by a mob armed with clubs, knives, and stones. The two who managed to escape remained for several weeks in a hospital. The Mexicans were apparently not strike-breakers and were not headed for Herrin. Imagine the situation reversed—four peaceable Americans brutally and unexpectedly set upon; two murdered, two barely escaping with their lives! The Herrin episode again illustrates that life is no safer, if indeed it is as safe, here than in smaller neighboring countries, which nevertheless live under constant bullying merely because they are weaker. It is time to recognize once for all that nationals of other countries have no rights superior to those enjoyed by the citizen of the country in which they happen to be. If a country cannot protect life, as the United States could not at Herrin, it is the misfortune of all the victims including those foreigners who happen to be on the spot. Under international law foreign victims of domestic disturbance or their families are entitled to damages fixed by peaceful negotiation. That should be forthcoming in these cases. It will be wholesome for Americans to remember Herrin the next time our jingo press calls upon us to avenge our citizens abroad.

FOLLOWING a time-honored Irish custom, Austria is threatening to fast on the Powers. If they do not somehow arrange to give her credits she will hand herself over to them—ruined, hungry, and forlorn; she will sit on their doorstep and starve until they comply with her requests to take over the care of her entirely. Specifically the Austrian Government threatens to relinquish the entire management of the country to the great Powers. Faced with the appalling chance of having to adopt so unlikely a ward, the Entente, through the Reparation Commission, is arranging with what speed it may to organize a new bank of issue, already agreed upon, guaranteed for twenty years by the Austrian state revenues. This bank shall assist the country out of her present financial difficulties and enable her to get credits and begin to restore her currency. Even the definite assurance of such a move should do something to stabilize and improve the Austrian exchange which has dropped almost out of sight.

HERE'S a new rule for success in literature. All one has to do is to rise in the world, become prime minister of an empire, see it through a war, and hold on to one's job after the war is over; and one may receive $400,000 for one's memoirs, the American rights included. What price confessions? What price fibs? Tell us mankind is not grateful to its great men! David Lloyd George has probably cost mankind as much as any one man living, with the exception of him of Hohenzollern. Yet there is enough left in the sponge which he has squeezed to make up a purse which many a belted earl would doubtless be glad enough to get even though he had to stand the added income tax. That's settled. The next question is: Who will write the book? Mr. George must be busy, what with all his regular chores; and he is not, we suspect, too capable of the sustained and concentrated labors necessary for this task. Whatever secretary writes it this history will follow after facts, limping, but imitating the gait which Mr. George has set.

ERRATUM. The name of ex-Senator Lippitt of Rhode Island was in our issue of August 2 inadvertently connected with the wool instead of the cotton schedules of the tariff.

Political Fences and Europe's Fate

THE thirteenth Allied Conference has ended in complete failure. The split between the former allies France and Great Britain has become as wide and as deep as the Grand Canyon. They disagree about everything: about facts, about the interpretation of facts, about the action to be taken. And most important of all, the political situations in their respective countries are such as to drive Mr. Lloyd George and M. Poincaré steadily in opposite directions. That Mr. George is driven, generally speaking, in the right direction and M. Poincaré in the wrong is merely fortuitous. In last week's conversations between the two at No. 10 Downing Street the British Prime Minister was reported to have summed up the facts with regard to reparations in words something like these: "Germany is unable to pay; she is ruined; and an effort to squeeze large sums from her would merely add to her difficulties without profiting the Allies, and besides would delay the economic reconstruction of Europe. Germany must be allowed to suspend payments for a reasonable period without having hampering conditions imposed on her." M. Poincaré is said to have been equally explicit: "Germany still is economically powerful and able to pay a great deal, but partly by design and partly by circumstances she has assumed an appearance of weakness which in fact does not exist. She should have nothing more than the briefest moratorium in which to reform her currency and to set in motion 'productive measures' for the payment of her obligations." So much for the facts, which are obviously made to fit the political needs of the two governments. From M. Poincaré's point of view Germany *must* be rich enough to pay for the war damage; otherwise the French people will have to do it, and this would create a political situation unhealthy for M. Poincaré. Mr. Lloyd George, on the other hand, realizes that a wrecked Germany means a wrecked British market and increased unemployment. Upon the result of this political tug-of-war hangs the fate of Europe and the future of the Entente. Mr. George's policy may be designed primarily to patch his party fences, but incidentally it offers the only hope of saving Europe. The policy urged by M. Poincaré will certainly wreck Germany and in the wreckage will carry the Government of France and her economic stability over the sharp edge of disaster. M. Poincaré thus stands to lose either way: If he fails to carry through his purpose to squeeze Germany dry, he will have to admit failure on a scale too large for any minister to survive; if he succeeds in his purpose, he may possibly hold on until France itself totters.

In the long run, of course, France, if not M. Poincaré, will benefit only by following England's lead. A Germany forced to pay by dumping cheap products into France and by undertaking public construction work that might yield employment to French workers and profit to French capital; a Germany forced to pay at the expense of her own political and social stability—such a Germany is a direct menace to France, as she is to all Europe. Does France hope to escape the depressing effect of living next door to a country in upheaval, a country working and selling at starvation rates, a country unable to buy? Probably the best minds of France see clearly that this is impossible. But the best minds are not lodged in the heads of the French

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politicians who are ruining Europe; as far as they are concerned France has no future beyond their term in office. This being so we can only hope that the will of Great Britain may prevail—even if it means the wrecking of the Entente. At present the only effect of the Entente is to lure Mr. Lloyd George into unfortunate concessions and compromises. Its end might in the long run save Europe, for France would no longer have even the name and the tradition of alliance behind which to take shelter for her militant adventures.

Another conference will undoubtedly follow this one. At such a conference no relevant question must be excluded from the agenda: Allied debts as well as enemy reparations must come up for discussion whether England likes it or not. The plea that France cannot regain her strength without full payment from Germany must be studied in the light of facts as to her remarkable recovery of wealth and the low rate of her taxation whether France likes it or not. The reparations bill must be drastically cut so that Germany can raise an external loan and eventually restore some value to her currency, and Germany should be granted a moratorium of at least a year. It goes without saying that M. Poincaré's scheme for Allied control of the German state forests and mines must be definitely abandoned. These should be Europe's minimum demands on the politicians who have her fate in their hands. The alternative is something which even M. Poincaré could not endure if he were capable of seeing further ahead than the next election.

Lord Northcliffe

PAEANS of praise of Lord Northcliffe are rising to the skies. All those who worship success are down upon their knees giving voice to their gratitude that one of humble origin, without means or social position, should have achieved so much. His adulators, unless we mistake, will be likening him to our tow-path and rail-splitting Presidents; behold how far native talent, ingenuity, industry, a close understanding of popular tastes and desires, a vivid sense of color and sensation can carry a man! And then what public services he rendered! How admirable his prevision that in Germany lay the enemy; how he stirred his country to hate and flogged it into the true spirit of war when the hour came; how well he fought the "Hun"! Surely all these things entitle him to grateful popular consideration, make a viscountcy seem but small reward, and enrol him upon the scroll of Great Britain's greatest men?

Well, the truth lies elsewhere. Lord Northcliffe's life calls for neither adulation nor emulation. The question whether his titles were not really awarded for political blackmail or through fear of it historians will long wrangle over. They cannot, however, battle over the character of his services to the press of England, for there the record is clear. He did nothing to elevate journalistic standards but endlessly debased them and left the press in a far worse position than it occupied when first he became a newspaper proprietor. The parallel so often drawn between our Hearst and England's Northcliffe is far from inapt. Indubitably Northcliffe was the abler; in some respects his was the better character; sometimes we feel that he did not touch such depths as his American contemporary. For one thing he was more the man of the world. He dealt with ministers where Hearst is concerned with mayors. If both regularly incited to war and bore a terrible responsibility for their share in bringing on wars, it is also true that both advocated in their different newspapers directly opposed points of view from which may be deduced their devotion to principle as well as their singleness of purpose. Just as the Hearst New York and Boston newspapers frequently advocate something entirely different from the opinions of the Chicago and San Francisco Hearst journals—and this not because of divergent local editors but as part of a deliberate policy—so British Liberals have frequently amused themselves by comparing the varying oracles of the London *Times*, *Mail*, and *Evening News*. In each case the opinions, and even correspondence, were altered to suit the supposed taste of the particular clientele of each newspaper.

Again, both of these newspaper proprietors had their political ambitions; the final break between Lloyd George and Northcliffe hinged, if report be true, upon a single bitter phrase that fell from the Premier's lips—this although the part that both played in the intrigue to unseat Asquith in the middle of the war ought surely to have made them political bedfellows for life. If Great Britain has not been spared the shame of seeing her titles of nobility thrown about in reward for support—every proprietor of a Sunday newspaper in London has received such recognition from Lloyd George no matter how low the publication—it has at least escaped the fate of having a Northcliffe in the cabinet; this goal was denied him. But a Warwick he undoubtedly was; he made and unmade cabinets, drove men into private life, and cruelly and unjustly hounded other men like Lord Haldane whose character and attainments were far superior to his own. Indeed, we had in Lord Northcliffe one of the most dangerous types a democracy can produce—the man who, by playing upon the passions, prejudices, and petty likes and dislikes of the masses, exercised an enormous political and social power without ethical ends or aims and without corresponding responsibilities. Given a Lord Northcliffe raised a few degrees higher in power, owning a few more newspapers, and conducting them with a little less conscience, and any state would find itself faced with a serious menace to political democracy which would try its wisdom to the utmost.

So if the truth were writ upon Lord Northcliffe's tomb it would read something like this: "Here lies a man who waxed powerful on the pennies of the labor and the lower middle classes by feeding them upon mediocrities and cheap sensations, who debased the entire English press, including even the famous old 'Thunderer.' He made no contribution to the betterment of mankind; he incited steadily to nationalistic and race hatreds; he was foremost among those who brought the world's worst calamity upon it, and once that misfortune was at hand he knew no sane way out. He supported the worst treaty in the history of mankind and to the day of his death advocated a foreign policy which can only spell irretrievable disaster and misery to Europe. For these and other services he was knighted, ennobled, decorated, honored, and acclaimed. Of such, reader of these lines, is the quality of success."

Fortunately in the ranks of British journalists are true noblemen, writers of conscience, light and leading, who have not bowed the knee to Baal. No one who believes in the English people can doubt that these other journalists will again come into their own, or that the state of society and the particular forms of imperialism for which Lord Northcliffe stood are passing—to the gain of the world.

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A Program for the Coal Mines and the Railroads

WHEN the governors of Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota, Wisconsin, and Iowa urge the President to take over coal carriers and if necessary the coal mines, it is evidence both of the serious effects of the coal and railroad strikes and of the steady trend of public opinion toward what a little while ago was regarded as unthinkable radicalism. Behind this movement lies not socialist theorizing but the pressure of facts. If the coal strike is settled promptly along the lines indicated at the Cleveland Conference a serious coal famine may be averted on terms which do not mean the crushing of the union or a further disastrous reduction of wages. That is something. But everybody knows that the coal problem will remain. For a while all mines will be busy and the public will be royally gouged in price to pay for the strike and to put profits in the pockets of the absentee owners of what is notoriously an over-developed and wretchedly mismanaged industry which wastes a ton of our limited coal reserve for every ton it puts on the market. There is no reason to believe that the operators can avoid another strike later on and it is certain, since they must consider their private profits, that they cannot afford to plan on a nation-wide scale for the scientific mining and distribution of coal.

Something of the same sort is true in the railroad situation, with the difference that, as we write, the shopmen's strike is far more likely to spread than to come to a prompt adjustment. Writing before this particular crisis so friendly a critic as Mr. Edward Hungerford refers to the railroads as the "sick-abed man of our American business" and he arrives at a plan which logically involves government ownership. The strike emphasizes the critical posture of affairs. The newspapers as usual are blaming the workers; the New York *Times* ends a column of denunciation with a call for a law "clothing the Executive with unquestioned authority to act for the nation." Just what act of authority could make unwilling miners dig coal and unwilling railroad men run trains and repair their equipment the *Times* discreetly fails to tell us. Yet that is the nub of the problem. You cannot indict the whole body of workers any more than you can indict a whole nation. They have their faults; the action of the Santa Fé men who left their train and its passengers stranded in the hot desert was as stupid as it was heartless. Some strikers have resorted to indefensible violence—though there is a deal too much of charging all untoward events to labor violence; there are such things in the world as accidents and incompetent strike-breakers and *agents provocateurs* and irresponsible criminals. The simple truth is that the deep-seated irritation of the workers against the railroad executives is a social fact to be reckoned with. It cannot safely be suppressed by coercion. Its causes must be removed.

The fundamental antagonism between the operators and the workers neither the incompetent Labor Board nor the well-meaning but perplexed President has done anything to relieve. Consider the President's latest peace proposal which the shopmen rejected and the majority of the executives half-heartedly accepted. The executives have flooded the country with propaganda about their duty to the strike-breakers and those who have stayed at work. Now it is a simple fact that most of these men are birds of passage attracted by the wages and board the impoverished railroads give them at great cost to the stockholders. Real workers among the strike-breakers are not so numerous or so efficient that they will hold seniority if the strikers return. Why then is the issue important? Because a vital question of prestige for the unions is at stake. The men conceded much in accepting the President's first offer which the executives rejected. Under it they would have gone back as a body with seniority rights unimpaired and referred the wage question to the Labor Board for a rehearing. It is not likely the Board would have reversed itself, but the men at least would have gained from the strike the promise of the railroad executives to obey orders of the Labor Board which some of the most important roads had disregarded. If the shopmen had accepted the President's second proposal and referred the issue of seniority itself to the Labor Board they would have virtually admitted that the strike was unjustified and they would have put their seniority question in the hands of a Board which had already decided against them when it called them outlaws. The roads would have paid no penalty for violating the spirit of the transportation act; the men who struck against these violations even more than against the bitter wage reductions would have been penalized by having to refer to outside decision their prized seniority rights. To reduce the men to this condition the roads, aided by the President's policy of "wiggle and wobble," have sacrificed the interests of the public and even of their own stockholders.

How much longer shall such industrial autocrats be given power over a vital public utility? Has not our entire system of private operation of railroads for private profit under a double-headed public regulation broken down? The answer for the railroads, as for the unregulated coal mines, is an emphatic affirmative. But does it follow that government ownership will be better? If the Railroad Labor Board were a governmental body empowered to enforce its decisions on governmental employees, might not labor be forced either into a sullen serfdom or revolt against the government? The danger is real. So too is the danger of an incompetent political bureaucracy. The conventional government ownership and operation will not do. The kind of national ownership which is hopeful is one in which the government will own the railroads and mines, put its credit behind the hiring of capital at a reasonable rate of interest, and turn them over to democratic management by representatives of experts, of the workers, and of the consuming public. That is the essence of the Plumb Plan and of the tentative plan of the miners' committee of which John Brophy is chairman. Such a program and only such a program affords any hope of substituting for the present strife of owners for profits, consumers for low prices, and workers for high wages a constructive and creative control of an essential industry for which all parties in interest have a definite responsibility. Is it objected that neither the public nor labor is ready for such a step? Perhaps not, but a crisis like the present may serve as a rapid and powerful educator. And as far as labor is concerned, with all its faults in organization and philosophy, we refuse to despair of any group of human beings who have shown the immense capacity for solidarity and endurance which the miners have displayed through hunger and persecution in the weary weeks since April first.

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These United States—X*

The State of Maine—"Down East"

By ROBERT HERRICK

IN my boyhood about Boston they called that part of the United States which lies between the White Mountains and the Canadian province of New Brunswick, with two hundred and more miles of fretted sea-coast from Eastport to Portsmouth—"Down East." It has been "the State of Maine" for only a hundred years, previously having been attached more or less uncertainly to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and it was not until 1850 that Massachusetts finally relinquished her undivided half interest in all the Maine State lands. With its 33,000 square miles of territory (still mostly in forest), 5,000 odd streams of sufficient size to be mapped, 1,500 large lakes, 400 sea-coast islands of over a thousand acres each, and several respectable mountains—about half of all this being still in "unorganized townships," "plantations," and "ranges" without names—the State of Maine is a considerable province, almost as extensive as the remaining five States of the New England group, with but three-quarters of a million people in it. In character Maine always was and still is a province by itself, distinctive from its neighboring States. The coastwise steamers, which still ply much as they did in my youth between its river ports and Boston, bring with the salt fish, lobsters, lumber, hay, and potatoes a special breed of rugged, ungainly, stalwart New Englander. For a half century and more "Down East" has been famous as a vacation land of romantic variety, with its roadless forests, rivers and inland lakes, Indians and moccasins, deep bays dotted with rocky, spruce-covered islands. The tail of the province running south from Portland to the Piscataqua has never been wholly characteristic, but to wake in the early morning as the Bangor boat rounded Owl's Head Light into Rockland, to see looming through the fog dim outlines of rocky coast and wooded islands, to smell the brine of cold sea water rolling clean against granite ledges was to realize that one had reached a far country, altogether different from well-tamed Massachusetts. It was much the same, if one descended from the exotic Pullman almost anywhere within the borders of the State to smell the pungent odor of fresh sawdust and cut lumber, with blueberries lying purple on the burnt pine barrens and raspberries hanging from roadside bushes. There was always, in my memory, something strong, wholesome, rugged, untamed and romantic, about the Maine of those days, and more than most parts of the modern world Maine has kept its native quality, moral and physical. Indeed, whatever may be left of that famous old New England, some time puritan and always protestant, will be found today more purely and abundantly here in Maine than elsewhere. The types of faces, the habits, and the ideas are much like those I remember in the Massachusetts of thirty years ago. It is the last stronghold of the Puritan.

Of Maine's three-quarters of a million of inhabitants today, five-sevenths are of native-born white stock, less than one-seventh of foreign parentage (mainly French Canadians), with only a thousand Negroes and less than a thousand Indians. Where else in the United States can be found an equal homogeneity of Anglo-Saxon blood? And in spite of the annual influx of a half million of strangers, who have discovered the beauty and the freedom of Maine, in spite of the estimated thirty million dollars which they pay for their summer vacations, except for a thin fringe of parasitic "resorts," with their corruptions, mainly along the southern sea-coast, this great province has never turned itself into a summer boarding-house like New Hampshire. Within its ample borders, along its lakes and rivers and sea-coast, it can absorb such an enormous transient population without noticeable interference with its own proper activities. These are many, and all basic. Wood pulp, lumber, hay, potatoes, apples, blueberries, sweet corn, building stone, lime, fish—these are the characteristic products of this northern land—and one must not forget ships and sailors! Maine is prosperous. Out of its many farms and inexhaustible forests much wealth has been taken. There are few cities and none of sufficient size to have become a plague spot. Here and there are textile mills, mostly scattered in small towns, so that the industrial population has never become massed, nor a preponderant element in any community. In short, in spite of its many resources, not least an abundant water power, Maine is not developed industrially to the maximum—and may that day never come! Such wealth as it has has largely been taken out of the soil and the sea and is pretty widely distributed. Even after the Great War and its eruptive profiteering there are, I suspect, few millionaires in Maine, and there are few miserably poor or unemployed. Rarely even in the back country does one come across a squalid farm, and I know of no slum street in its few cities. Thus as a whole in Maine there is a stable condition of comfort, self-reliance, non-parasitic occupation common in the New England of a previous generation, which makes for sturdiness, individualism, and conservatism. Maine is not so much reactionary as stationary.

That, I suppose, is why Maine has been found so often in the Republican ranks at national elections. Its people learned their political faith in the Civil War and have found no reason to abandon it, all the more as Republican tariffs look closely after Canadian competition and its long sea coast provides ample opportunity for Federal "recognition" of one sort or another. For they still believe in high tariffs in Maine and in strictly partisan government. The State has sent to Washington such men as Blaine, Dingley, Reed, and Hale, typical perhaps of the Republican Party ideal of statesmanship not merely in Maine. But except for the fact that Maine votes in September and is therefore the subject of much earnest party solicitude, to see that her citizens continue to set a good example to other States, I do not feel that national politics play a large part in the life of Maine. (The two matters which are most negligible in the psychology of the true American are his religion and his politics.) In State and local politics Maine well illustrates the theory that

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This is the tenth article in the series entitled These United States. The first was on the State of Kansas by William Allen White (April 19), the second on Maryland by H. L. Mencken (May 3), the third on Mississippi by Beulah Amidon Ratliff (May 17), the fourth on Vermont by Dorothy Canfield Fisher (May 31), the fifth on New Jersey by Edmund Wilson, Jr. (June 14), the sixth on Utah by Murray E. King (June 28), the seventh on South Carolina by Ludwig Lewisohn (July 12), the eighth on Nevada by Anne Martin (July 26), and the ninth on Ohio by Sherwood Anderson (August 9).

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the less government the better for those governed, for the State legislature with an admirable self-restraint meets but once in two years and then only for a three months' session, chiefly concerned with game laws and road building. For the rest the famous town-meeting still flourishes in Maine, once a year at least, and the actual administration of its large, rambling townships (often fifty square miles and more in area) is left to the selectmen, who presumably give their communities as much good government as they will pay for. In a word Maine is the least-governed and therefore the best-governed American State that I know. Fortunately the prizes are not rich enough to attract heavy grafters, and there are many leisurely eyes and ears to supervise the activities of public servants.

Maine, it must not be forgotten, is an intensely individualistic community. A few of its more advanced thinkers may regret that the State disposed of all its forest lands, a precious heritage, for as little as twelve cents the acre to private exploiters, lumber companies, and pulp manufacturers, but no doubt if the question recurred today the folly would be sanctioned by popular vote, notwithstanding the fact that the income derived from these forest tracts might have made Maine a very rich State, with good bridges and roads and a modernized school system, all without cost to its citizens. But like good Americans everywhere Maine prefers to give away its natural wealth to greedy individuals and issue bonds for its public needs. The story of the looting of the pine woods is monotonously the same from the Penobscot to Michigan, to Wisconsin, and now in Washington and Oregon.

If politically and economically Maine is simple, "stalwart" American, it should not be overlooked that the State was "advanced" in the matter of prohibition. It went "dry" two generations before the nation passed the amendment. Not quite dry! There were always zones of dryness from the well-saturated border towns to the more arid interior about the State House at Augusta. For Maine administered its prohibition temperately and intermittently, like prudent New Englanders: those who wanted to remain dry could do so without much temptation, and those who wished to drink might do so with circumspection. But the act had the support of the people of the State. It is characteristic of Maine that it believed in prohibition and tried to get it long before other States in the Union strove for this ideal. Something of the puritan tradition of discipline has lingered here into these relaxed days. . . .

The backwoods, the wilderness and the frontier, also a stern ocean, have never been far from man's consciousness in this easterly province. It is not surprising, then, that the lighter, the more suave growths of civilization are not much in evidence. Architecturally, except for a few handsome examples of old colonial to be found in coast towns like Wiscasset, Gardiner, and Portland, Maine is bleaker than its more southerly neighbors, where there has been greater wealth, ease, and ready intercourse. The usual Maine farmhouse is a strong plain affair, too steep in the roof (to stand heavy snowfalls), too heavy and angular, perched on big granite blocks, connected by a long shed with an even larger barn, equally homely. Even in the older inland towns size and substantiality count for much more than grace of line and proportion. Timber is cheap, winters long and rude, and the Maine man is not given to adornment, to prettiness. Yet perched on the hills—and I think that Maine farmhouses are more frequently placed on high ground than in other New England States as if to survey the approach of possibly hostile strangers—with a broad fall of plowed land and pasture and backed by heavy "dark growth," these rude white buildings have a solidity and abidingness about them which make them part of the rugged landscape. One realizes that each fertile farm is the result of a long struggle with an unyielding nature, to which generations of tenacious, strong men have given themselves. The fishermen's houses along the coast and on the many islands are smaller than the inland farmhouses, equally white and graceless, and dotted with a pleasant irregularity about the waterfront, their faces turned often to the open sea, quite negligent of the road, because from the sea comes the struggle and the livelihood. All these outer aspects of old Maine are, of course, undergoing change, being gradually overlaid with new and cheaper growths, as automobiles increase and the number of miles of passable roads. But Maine yields more slowly to new ways than other parts of the country, and it will be many a year before the "ranges" and "plantations" of the north have become tamed to the bungalow and garden hose. Meanwhile there are many "unspoiled" towns and villages, where except for the new garage the outer aspect of things is much what it was fifty years ago.

What the inner aspect is of the life in these towns and villages it would be more difficult to pronounce. Culturally Maine is proud of its old New England college, Bowdoin, of its State musical festival, of its newer schools, but culturally these days America seems too much of a muchness to be discriminating about. The trains run daily from the great cities of Boston and New York, and the *Saturday Evening Post*, the Hearst newspapers, the cinema reels, and the Hart Schaffner and Marx clothes penetrate, one and all, to the northernmost and easternmost corners of the province. What Maine has "done in literature" may be read of elsewhere. Maine is not primarily concerned with aesthetics. I think it never will be. That comes like the summer visitor superficially into men's and women's minds. I doubt if many inhabitants of the State are aware today that our most considerable American poet was born and has lived many years among them.

Maine is a great example of the prodigal beauty and richness of our America. From one of its innumerable hilltops you may look across whole counties of pine and fir and hemlock, dotted with farms and lakes, across to other ranges of blue hills, and to still other far-away misty mountain tops, or to the ledgy reefs and dark salt water of its broken coast. There is a sense of space and variety and wildness in Maine not to be felt elsewhere in the United States east of the Rocky Mountains. The old province is not yet tamed and crowded. One can realize how those early adventurers felt when they sailed up to its coast out of the Atlantic—the Sieur de Monts, the Jesuit colonists, Captain John Smith, and all the others. The same fir-covered islands stand sentinel before the deep bays, the same fog hangs over the cold deep waters, the same vista of hills and wide upland rises from the coast, still wild, still pungent with many mingled scents of sea and land. There is still the sense of wide, free space. There is still the wilderness for background. So life remains "Down East" a little more like what it was in the days of the forefathers, when men came to this unknown Western world to be free, to win their right to survive by struggle with nature rather than with their fellow-men.

[*The next article, to appear September 6, will be* Delaware: The Ward of a Feudal Family, *by Arthur Warner.*]

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What Women Won in Wisconsin

By ZONA GALE

TEXT OF WISCONSIN EQUAL RIGHTS LAW

SECTION 1. Women shall have the same rights and privileges under the law as men in the exercise of suffrage, freedom of contract, choice of residence for voting purposes, jury service, holding office, holding and conveying property, care and custody of children, and in all other respects. The various courts, executive and administrative officers shall construe the statutes where the masculine gender is used to include the feminine gender unless such construction will deny to females the special protection and privileges which they now enjoy for the general welfare. The courts, executive and administrative officers shall make all necessary rules and provisions to carry out the intent and purposes of this statute.

SECTION 2. Any woman drawn to serve as a juror, upon her request to the presiding judge or magistrate, before the commencement of the trial or hearing, shall be excused from the panel or venire.

THE extension of suffrage to include women left women with legal discriminations against them incompatible with citizenship. By what means would women best call the attention of lawmakers to these disabilities?

By amendment of individual statutes, one would say. But there had been introduced in the 1921 session of our Wisconsin Legislature a bill removing the most obvious discrimination—that of the right to jury duty. This bill, which was only an optional jury-service bill, passed the Senate but was defeated in the Assembly. Wisconsin women admitted to the State bar, admitted to the law school of the State University, and of course sharing in the franchise, still merely because they were women might not sit on a jury as the peers of an accused citizen. And, following the defeat of this jury bill, the judiciary committee of the Assembly introduced a bill expressly barring women from jury service.

This experience led in Wisconsin to the vision of the necessity for a proclamation of a general Bill of Rights for women, to build on. There is the point—to build on. This general grant of power lays down principles similar to the principles laid down in the constitutional Bill of Rights. We know that it must be followed by specific legislation in those instances—and many may arise—in which the issues are not clear. But we hold that a foundation is necessary on which to build, for the guidance of future legislators; and that this foundation is the proclamation of rights embodied in the Wisconsin Equal Rights Law.

Women are going to be vigilant to work for the amendment of individual statutes as these issues arise; and in approaching the legislature Wisconsin women will now have the moral backing of their Bill of Rights. Freudians tell us that an inferiority complex endangers any undertaking, and perhaps this law will operate to sweep away the inferiority complex—not in the minds of women, who have been getting rid of it for some time, but in the opinions which legislators sometimes hold in regard to the rights of women.

The following instances of the actual working of the law in the twelve months since its passage may be cited: The Civil Service Commission of Milwaukee ruled that married women were not eligible to take civil-service examinations. Various women protested, and with the backing of Mayor Hoan and Assistant City Attorney Babcock, both of whom said that this ruling was in direct violation of the Equal Rights Law, after several meetings and much argument gained their point.

Another instance was in regard to two new policewomen. Women had worked hard for the establishment of these posts. Imagine their dismay when it was announced in the newspapers that married women would be barred. The women again protested. The city officials replied that the newspapers had misstated the case, and that the Equal Rights Law would not permit them to discriminate against married women.

A Wisconsin woman moved with her husband to Montana where he was engaged in the mining business. When their son was of college age this woman returned to Wisconsin to live so that he could enter the State University. The husband remained with his business in Montana. The university ruled that since the husband's home was in Montana the wife also lived in Montana, that the boy was therefore non-resident and must pay tuition. It was not until after our Wisconsin Equal Rights Law was brought forward that the university ruled that the wife lived where she lived.

A Richland Center woman had been deprived of her vote because, although she and her husband live in town with their children, the husband keeps his voting residence in the country district where their farm lies. She could not leave her young children to go to the country to vote and had not voted since the passage of the national suffrage amendment. Under the Equal Rights Law she can now vote in the town where she lives.

The Supreme Court of Wisconsin rendered a decision on last July 7 ordering a Milwaukee teacher reinstated and awarding her back pay for the time she had been deprived of her position. The court held that her dismissal violated the Equal Rights Law. The teacher had been dismissed under a ruling made by the Milwaukee board that a married woman cannot "be transferred, promoted, or permanently appointed to regular teaching positions." The teacher who was dismissed was married March 5, 1921, but continued to use her maiden name and did not inform the school board of her marriage until the following August 30. On September 15, 1921, she was discharged by the school board under the ruling quoted above. Among other specific charges brought against her and on which she was discharged was the failure to report her name promptly and the fact that after her marriage she had signed her maiden name to the school records.

These cases are good examples of the superior merit of a general bill. If we had passed a specific bill in Wisconsin instead of one establishing the general Equal Rights principle it would not have touched points such as these.

Harry Slattery of the District of Columbia Bar makes the following statement on the Equal Rights campaign:

> The adoption of the Nineteenth Amendment . . . enfranchised the women of the United States . . . but it did not provide as thousands of good folk think it did that women should have the same rights and privileges under the Constitution and laws of the United States as men. It did not remove civil or legal disabilities, inequalities, or other discriminations of law against women by reason of sex or marriage. . . . In fact the suffrage

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amendment is in a sense a half-way house on the road to equal civil, legal, and political rights for women which will place them on an equality with men. . . . In many States today the common-law disabilities of women are comparable to the barbaric laws of the chattel-slavery days. In our Federal laws there are many inequalities that should be removed. Common justice to the women of America requires that both in the nation and in the States these obstacles and injustices be removed. The Wisconsin law recently enacted is a model for State action. But in the last analysis, as in suffrage, a constitutional amendment will best meet the complex situation.

"Barbaric laws of chattel-slavery days" sounds a bit strong. At the other pole from a relationship involving remnants of such days stands the potential relationship, for the future, between men and women. I have tried in this outline to keep to the concrete—will you bear with me for a moment to note this abstract truth: That every man knows what a woman's point of view, when it is wise and sane and kindly, can contribute to life. Of his understanding of this we catch glimpses in his book dedications and in all his moments of greatest articulateness. The difficulty is to generalize, to realize that more women have that wisdom and that sanity or, when they haven't, that we must help them to develop these broadly social qualities. The opportunities of men to express a social spirit in their living are still double and triple those of women. Yet women have a spiritual genius which has never been given social expression. It is precisely this which they could liberate into the world, for the general welfare, if all these meshes of little circumstances hampering them could be swept away and they could be given the moral backing of a general consciousness of equality of opportunity. That is all that any equality can mean in the new status of women—equality of opportunity to express themselves politically and legally, without discriminations against them.

Lady Astor spoke a profound truth when she said at Baltimore recently that women trust to the spiritual and that they can bring the spiritual through to the material world—in time. . . . I am not saying that the Wisconsin Equal Rights Law or any other equal rights law is going to do all that. But I am saying that the Wisconsin Equal Rights Law or any other equal rights law equally well drawn is to be taken as one step in that long progress which women are making—through the doors of education, of the professions, of business, of the franchise, and on to full equality with men; the doors not of their own advancement alone but of that of a race struggling toward the conditions of a just freedom. The status of women in Wisconsin even under our Equal Rights Law is but a stage in that long march.

Meanwhile—"some remnants of the barbaric laws of chattel-slavery days." To emphasize the great work which Wisconsin did in initiating this legislation let me quote from a few of those laws as they exist in some of the other States today. These laws are familiar to you but I beg to recall them. They are collected in a series of booklets issued by the National Woman's Party, a series which is to include every State—save Wisconsin alone.

In Alabama: Mothers are not equal guardians of their children.

In Arkansas: Inheritance laws discriminate against women.

In Delaware: Fathers can will away children from mothers.

In Florida: The father controls the services and earnings of children.

In Louisiana: Married women are classed with children and the insane as unable to contract on their own responsibility.

In Maryland: Divorce laws discriminate against women.

In Massachusetts: Women are ineligible for jury service.

In Mississippi: The husband owns his wife's services in the home and in his business.

In Vermont: Earnings of a married woman belong to her husband.

In Virginia: The property of married women is presumed to belong to their husbands unless proof to the contrary is shown.

"Barbaric laws of chattel-slavery days" certainly and there are many others not listed above. Most of these laws have never existed in Wisconsin. But some of them did exist up to the time of the passage of the Equal Rights Law. And all discriminations against women must be removed. All discriminative laws against women are remnants of chattel-slavery days and all these remnants must disappear.

I see no conspicuous holy of holies in these discriminative laws. And in some States the pedestal does not seem to be high enough to prevent a husband from scaling it to collect his wife's earnings. Whether the discriminations are great, as they are in the Southern States, or less as they are in Wisconsin, the principle involved is the same—all discriminations against all women must be removed.

In this matter there is no woman's standpoint and no man's standpoint. There is only the need of our common citizenship to rid our statute books of these vestiges of the old English common law and to bring our law down to date. To do this for women—yes; and for men; and for the general welfare; and for the children and the children's children.

That's a Strike

By ZELDA F. POPKIN

MRS. WHEELER runs a boarding-house in the East End. Her boarders are for the most part single men who work in the mines, girls employed in local stores, and a few long-married couples who find living at Mrs. Wheeler's cheaper than housekeeping. Those who know Mrs. Wheeler well say that she is only thirty-five, but the observer might take her for fifty-five, at the kindest, for her face is seamed with many wrinkles and her gray blue eyes behind severe silver-rimmed spectacles have a look of hopelessness and world-weariness. The hair that she combs primly back into a topknot is fading from silver to white. Mrs. Wheeler's husband, Martin, was burned to a black charred horror in the Baltimore Tunnel disaster. It was then that her hair whitened and her young face took on the look that one finds on the faces of all that great army of fear-stricken women whose beloved husbands, brothers, and fathers each morning gaily face death in tunnel and shaft.

When young Harry McGroarty threw his lamp cap into his closet one end of March day and said: "Well, Mrs. Wheeler, I'll not be needing that for a while now. The union's called a suspension. The mines is shutting down and the boys are expecting it to turn into a good long strike," Mrs. Wheeler shook her head sadly, slowly.

"You boys haven't an idea of what a strike is, or you'd not be fooling around the way you are. Button strikes, two, three days off when you feel you'd like a holiday, are all you know about. This ain't gonna be no button strike, you can bet on it. It ain't a joke to be walkin' around to the union hall one week after another with nothing in yer pocket or in yer stomach and only black hate in yer heart. My father was out in 1902 in the big strike that Teddy Roosevelt set-

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tled. I know what a strike is. It's waiting and hoping and starving and hating. It's women and children sacrificing. It's the innocent getting the worst end. Well, the union knows best. I'll not be collecting much rent the next couple of months, I'm thinkin'. And it looks like I'd better be talking to the butcher and baker and grocery man."

"You needn't be frettin'," Harry assured her blithely. "The miners and their families has got more than ninety thousand dollars in the savings banks around Wilkes-Barre and the United Mine Workers ain't putting out a tin cup and a 'Please help the poor' sign yet. They been collecting twenty-five cents a month from every anthracite man for twenty years now."

The months that stretched between the first of April and the middle of July saw many changes in Mrs. Wheeler's boarding-house. Take the fare, for instance. It wasn't so much that the portions grew smaller, until the hungry man left the table almost as he had come, but that the Sunday chicken dinner gave way to salt pork and cabbage and week-day suppers found their main dish to be creamed beef, infinitesimal chips of dried beef swimming in an ocean of flour gravy instead of the pre-strike steak and pork chops.

Among the boarders, too, there was an unending change. Young Harry McGroarty was the first to leave—going camping, he said, up the Ashley Mountain with a crowd of the boys from the breaker. Might pick berries and sell them, may be do a little farm work. Just enough to keep from starving. Strike benefits? Aw, fergit it! Them hunkies with six, eight kids apiece went up first. They got what there was. That was the way it ought to be. The weather was warm and haven't we waited these many years now, just for a chance to go camping?

The Careys went in the middle of May, on an extended visit to Mrs. Carey's brother at Binghamton. Their going was much of a surprise, for Carey was thought to be well fixed in a steady position as head salesman in a piano store—a man past forty, sober and honest, to whom it had been a sorry blow to give up his little home on account of his wife's illness.

"Joseph wasn't treated fair," Mrs. Carey told her landlady on their last evening. "Mr. Jackson, his employer, told him that because of the strike they couldn't afford to pay his salary and they were going to cut it in half—half, mind you. Business was so slow, he said, nothing to do at all. So Carey up and says: 'How much are you cutting your own salary?' and 'Why don't you give your help a chance to live?' And they had some words and Carey said he'd quit before he'd let them cut him, which, even if it's gonna be hard for both of us, was the right thing for him to do. Joseph's been looking right along for a position, but there's not a thing in town. Last week one of the stores was advertising for a night watchman. Carey went down and he says they counted and there were one hundred and eighty men after that position, fellows he knew, working for other stores, so that he knew he wasn't the only one that wasn't going to work for half pay. Well, we're going up to New York State. There's no telling how long things will be bad here."

Mame Garvey went, too. She departed late one Saturday night in early June after a fortnight alternating between job-hunting and weeping. Mame had been a clerk in a department store. "First they put us on half time—that meant half pay; then they fired us right out, at one time, on account of the strike. They say all the stores is doing it. Gee, the girls out of work is something fierce!" she informed her fellow-boarders at dinner. She slipped out after she was four weeks behind in her board, after her spring finery could no longer be pressed into attractiveness, after the mended runs in her stockings had become too conspicuous. She departed with tight lips, red-rimmed eyes, and chin held high. "I can't keep this up no more. I'm going to Scranton. I got a friend there. He'll look out for me."

Viola Magee, the tired little widow who had the attic bedroom, stayed on, but each day found her growing paler, thinner, and wilting ever more and more into tears. "I've just put my little boy into St. Joseph's home," she confided to Mrs. Wheeler. "Seven years I've been working to keep him. I been paying his board regular and keeping him with a family where I could see him every day. The bakery kept cutting us more and more every week (they said on account of the strike folks ain't buying no cake and not so much bread—they're baking their own or doing without) until I couldn't keep up my payments no longer, and the people where he was staying couldn't keep Jimmy no longer without paying on account of him being a miner and he's on strike now. They ain't got enough to eat themselves. I had to give Bobbie away to St. Joseph's. And it's fair breaking my heart. Seven years and not one night I didn't see him, not one Sunday I didn't pass with him."

While the others departed, two old boarders came back to Mrs. Wheeler—young Johnny Ryer and his bride. On the first of March they had given up the room that had been home since their wedding, the only home both had known all their adult lives. They had gone then to live in their own little flat, four rooms, neat, cheerful, cozy, made beautiful by dreams and the instalment plan. Three months had been the extent of their bliss—until the prolonged suspension had taken every cent of their savings.

"What we'd paid up we sold," Johnny Ryer told the friendly Mrs. Wheeler, after his young wife had stolen away to drench her pillow with tears. "The rest of the things went back to the store. They say we can git it after the strike, by paying the storage. Oh, Mrs. Wheeler, you'll be good to Kathleen. Her time's coming near, and it's fair killing her that she can't be having the little one in her own home."

"And you, Johnny, how'll you be paying the doctor and all?"

"It's great hopes I have for me new job. I'm going around selling the words and music of a fine new song, 'Dearie, the Sun Is Shining Bright.' It sells for ten cents, and they give me two cents out of the ten."

"That's a strike, Johnny Ryer," Mrs. Wheeler mused, half to him, half to herself. "It's always them as ain't to blame and ain't to do with it that suffers the worst. Them as owns the mines and lives in the big city don't suffer. It's this whole town that suffers—everybody but them that's to blame. That's a strike."

Contributors to This Issue

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Canada's Farmers—Victory or Defeat?

By A. VERNON THOMAS

WHILE in the United States an "agricultural bloc" composed of members of the two old conservative parties was trying feebly in Congress to secure by political trading certain advantages for its farmer constituents, the farmers of Canada were apparently ordering things differently. When on July 18 the United Farmers of Manitoba captured a majority of the seats in the provincial legislature and thereby took over the reins of government they made their province the third out of the nine in Canada to entrust its affairs to an agrarian party. They have chosen as their premier John Bracken, a young man under forty, who for some years past has been the principal of the Manitoba Agricultural College; in other words, a professor, not a politician. He has had no legislative experience, although he is an excellent teacher and staunch advocate of scientific farming. It is probable that his cabinet colleagues will also be men making their first entry into a legislature.

Ontario and Alberta preceded Manitoba, and on December 3 last the farmers' organizations of the different provinces, from Nova Scotia to British Columbia, having organized as the National Progressive Party, essayed to capture the Dominion House of Commons. They failed, but obtained 64 seats in a House of 235 members.

All this in three short years. But almost simultaneously come ominous rumors from Ottawa to the effect that some fifty of these agrarian members contemplate an alliance with Hon. Mackenzie King, the Liberal Prime Minister, and that two of the National Progressives will go into Mr. King's Cabinet. Should this merging of Liberals and Progressives take place it would probably be a body-blow at the whole agrarian movement in Canada as far as political action is concerned. There are also repeated rumors that Mr. Drury, Ontario's farmer Premier, is contemplating a reorganization of his party, either swallowing the Liberals or consenting to be swallowed by them. Very significant is it that latterly he has abandoned the name United Farmers, when speaking of his party, and is using the less specific title of Progressives.

Should the reorganization at Ottawa thus foreshadowed materialize, history will have repeated itself somewhat as it did in the rise and fall of the Populist Party in the United States and in the similar movement in Canada whose members were known as the Patrons of Industry, which assumed big proportions in Ontario in the middle nineties. They withstood absorption by the Liberal Party of Ontario for only a few years, as did the small group of Patrons who secured election to the Canadian House of Commons in 1896, their advent coinciding with that of Sir Wilfrid Laurier to power. But in 1900 when Laurier was returned for a second time the Patron group had disappeared, most of its members having entered the Liberal fold.

The present agrarian movement in Canada, however, seems to possess elements of more than ordinary strength. It has a quarter of a century's organization work behind it, work which has created vast cooperative undertakings for the marketing of farm products, and, in a lesser degree, for the purchasing of farm machinery and other needs of the farmer. Also the Agrarians of today have the fate of the Patrons to warn them of danger, and apparently have believed right along that they had built on surer foundations. The movement had behind it intense enthusiasm, in fact almost religious zeal. It swept Ontario and Alberta, particularly the latter, like an irresistible prairie fire. In the federal election last December the agrarian candidates in the West were elected by enormous majorities. In the three prairie provinces not a single Liberal was elected outside the cities and in the cities but two. Not a single Conservative was elected in the three provinces.

Why, then, is there danger of losing much of the victory? In Quebec, so frequently an upsetting factor in Canadian politics, probably lies the explanation. Last December Laurier in his grave proved to be even more eloquent than Laurier on the platform. Above all else French Canada sought vengeance against those who had thrust conscription upon the country over Laurier's protest and his plea for at least a referendum, and not a single candidate who had supported conscription secured election. For 65 seats 65 Liberals had been chosen. This was obviously an unfortunate circumstance for Canada as a whole, but it is one of the many bills which its people are paying for the tragedy of the conscription campaign of 1917 and the attempt the following year to apply the act to Quebec.

With a following of only 115 in a House of 235 members, and with 65 of the 115 coming from the French Canadian province, Mr. Mackenzie King's position has been well-nigh intolerable. He enjoyed, as will be observed, less than an absolute majority of the House and at any moment a combination of Progressives and Conservatives could have brought about his defeat. The sword of Damocles hung threateningly over his head and it seemed more than once as if it must descend upon him. Worse still, a section of the Quebec Liberals, headed by Sir Lomer Gouin, now Minister of Justice, a strong and able man, with a distinguished record behind him as Premier of Quebec, is frankly and openly protectionist, if "Liberal-protectionist" be not a contradiction in terms. It is also opposed to government ownership and operation of railroads and would cheerfully hand over to the Canadian Pacific Railway the former systems of the Canadian Northern, the Grand Trunk, and the Grand Trunk Pacific, taken over by the Dominion Government when the roads became bankrupt a few years ago.

But a merger between the Liberals and the Agrarians at Ottawa would still demand much explanation. For it would represent a final and decisive failure of the present attempt to create a new political party in Canada. Perhaps the chief of the disintegrating forces is the atmosphere at Ottawa. It is there that the problems of nine Canadian provinces with different and even conflicting economic interests and with different racial and religious backgrounds have to be met and solved. Such an atmosphere is not conducive to the development of politico-economic groups.

Canada, as Laurier used to say, is a hard country to govern, and even the Progressives have discovered this. Ardent free traders in the prairie provinces, they find their movement morally hobbled by having to include members from British Columbia who are prepared to support free trade in farm implements, but demand that British Columbia fruit be protected. Similarly the Progressives from the Maritime Provinces are in favor of free trade in this or that, but not in coal, which these provinces produce.

The regrettable fact is that no party appearing in any

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Canadian legislature, certainly not one aspiring to power in the Canadian House of Commons, can abstract itself from the consideration of issues much wider than the claims of any single economic group. And when it is recollected that the Agrarians have brought together upon an economic platform the most diverse and heterogeneous elements, it is perhaps, after all, not astonishing that the disintegrating process has started so soon. If there is progress it lies in the accession to power in the farming provinces of those who represent the will of the great majority of inhabitants. In these smaller units at least the gain for democracy has been unmistakable.

In the Driftway

THOSE incorrigible optimists, among whom the Drifter admits he may sometimes be found, who expatiate on "Nature" present her always with a smiling face. Wreathed with birch-buds or white lilac or gentle meadow-sweet or fiery holly according, of course, to the time of year, she makes her way amiably across the page, giving off sweet smells, radiating bright colors, dripping adjectives, and spattering commas like rain. Yet there may be no crueller companion to walk out with than this same lady. Tiny bright orange buttons carpet the floor of the woods: beware them, they are toadstools. Sumac is brilliant in the August swamps; watch out lest the hand that strokes it redden; it is our most deadly plant. And this glossy-leaved luxuriant creeper that spreads its magnificent green along the roadside—what seas of ineffectual saturated solutions of this or that highly recommended remedy are needed to wash away its bitter touch! On the subject of poison ivy the Drifter can be as passionate as on book censors. And indeed there is a definite similarity between the two. These searchers after a salacity which they always find because it dwells within themselves are the poison ivies of literature.

* * * * *

WHAT would happen now, the Drifter wonders, if another clergyman Sterne should write another "Tristram Shandy" in this day of massive and maundering morality? Would another living be added by a delighted and affluent reader to the one he already had? Would the protests of his parishioners rise stormily for only a little while and then die? Or would the whole pack of purity profaners bay so loudly that one of the wittiest books in the English language would be declared officially obscene? There is not much doubt of the answer in America.

* * * * *

STERNE, of course, was wise enough to choose to live and write in the eighteenth century. We in America are indefatigable at the present time in our imitations of eighteenth century architecture and house decoration— imitations which in spite of their unoriginality are many steps in advance of the painful frescoes and oppressive square towers of thirty or forty years ago. The Drifter now proposes a Society for the Revival of Eighteenth Century Plain-Speaking-with-Impunity. He would even be willing to serve as an honorary member of the executive committee, thus breaking a life-long principle of eschewing committees of all kinds and particularly honorary ones. And when such a movement became popular, what would the censors do then, poor things? THE DRIFTER

Correspondence

In Reply to Mr. Kelly

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Mr. John E. Kelly's article, The White Reaction i Ireland, in your issue of August 2 is impressive upon a firs reading. But a second reading is sure to give a sense of some thing garbled and unfair. Very few people will get this secon impression; the article will be read once and readers of *Th Nation* will be given an impression that is damaging to th heads of the Provisional Government in Ireland.

I object to the article, not because it attacks the heads o the Provisional Government, Michael Collins and Arthu Griffith, but because it attacks them with obvious unfairnes For instance, let us look at the attack on Mr. Griffith: "O November 26, 1920, Griffith was arrested 'at his own request t protect him,' according to an official statement of the Britis Government. While in prison, the Republicans managed throug a daring ruse to drive a motor truck into the very prison yar to rescue him, but Griffith refused to leave." That sentence i characterized by an extraordinary lack of candor. Mr. Kell must know that in 1920 the British Government was despe ately trying to give the impression that there were hostile sec tions in the Republican ranks—"moderates" and "gunmen. "Mayor MacCurtain of Cork had been killed by 'Sinn Fei gunmen.'" "Arthur Griffith had to be protected from his ow followers." Why should Mr. Kelly quote the British officia statement in the case of Arthur Griffith? Would he quote i in the case of Mayor MacCurtain? Then as to the attempte rescue of Arthur Griffith: A motor truck was driven into th prison yard; the men who drove it in almost got the priso authority to sign an order for the removal of Arthur Griffit and then their ruse was discovered and the Republicans had t beat a quick retreat. They never established contact with th prisoner. Mr. Kelly must have read the story of this particula exploit. But his remarkable lack of candor is in the sentenc "but Griffith refused to leave."

Now let us take the attack on Michael Collins: "Many hav regarded him as an *agent provocateur* and see in his presen actions confirmation of their suspicions." The very form of th charge has that lack of candor that I maintain is characteristi of the whole article. "Many have regarded him as an *agen provocateur*"! Were there any Irish leaders that were not s regarded by some unbalanced people? Pearse and Casemer were so regarded in America. One was constantly hearing th same doubt cast upon Eamon de Valera. How did he get o in 1916 when the other commandants were executed? Ho did he escape from an English prison? How did he get ov to America? How did he get back to Ireland? It is somethin of a shock to hear this babble repeated in the pages of *Th Nation*. "He was attached to the Irish Intelligence Bureau headquarters." Yes, and the Irish Intelligence Bureau was th department of Republican defense that did most to bring th activities of the British military to a standstill. "His past shrouded in a most suspicious obscurity, but it seems certai that he lived for a long time in London and at one time serve in the British service." Michael Collins was very well know in Gaelic League and Irish literary circles in London. H public obscurity was due to a very simple fact: before th war he was in his twenties, and it would be exceptional if man in the twenties, spending his days in a stockbroker office, could become very publicly known in London. I repe that in London young Michael Collins was very trustingly r garded by the young men and women of the Gaelic League an the Irish Literary Society—the elite of the Irish organizatio in London. "Carl Ackerman in the *Atlantic Monthly*," sa Mr. Kelly, "intimates that he had part in the booming of th two" (Arthur Griffith and Michael Collins). Mr. Kelly h almost as much trust as Carl Ackerman in journalistic boomin

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I fancy "Æ" was quite uninfluenced by Carl Ackerman's technique when he wrote me recently that he regarded Michael Collins as a really great man.

I am concerned merely with instances of injustices and I am not concerned with the general argument of Mr. Kelly's article. That is dealt with effectively in your own editorial. I have to say, however, that a single sentence in the editorial unwittingly reinforces the unfair impression that is conveyed by Mr. Kelly's article. You permit yourself to set down the words: "perhaps the treasonable failure of leaders whom the Irish people trusted." That is a pity.

One word more. Mr. Kelly attempts to make his article well documented. But, with a single blunder he makes us doubt his feeling for and his understanding of recent Irish history. What good can it have done him to have read "The Evolution of Sinn Fein," "The Fall of Feudalism in Ireland," "The Land War in Ireland," "L'Irlande dans la crise universelle," and the speeches of Barton and Duffy in the Dail, if he can speak of "the so-called 'Hungarian plan' which he [Griffith] outlined in an address to a convention of the Gaelic League in 1902"? No political address could have been delivered before a convention of the non-political Gaelic League. And in 1902! That was at least four years before Arthur Griffith built up his conception of "the Hungarian policy." Of course Mr. Kelly meant a convention of Cumann na nGaedhael. But the fact that he could confound these two organizations shows that he has not immersed himself in recent Irish history.

New York, August 3 PADRAIC COLUM

[*The Nation* certainly never meant to imply that for one minute it believed that there was any "treasonable failure" on the part of any Free State leader. We emphatically do not. We entirely agree with Mr. Colum. The words he quotes we used in summarizing Mr. Kelly's position.—EDITOR THE NATION.]

American Rule in the Virgin Islands

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: When the three islands of St. Croix, St. Thomas, and St. John were acquired by the United States early in 1917 the form of government was provisionally defined by Congress in An Act to Provide a Temporary Government for the Virgin Islands. The administration of that provisional government was, by that act, "vested in a governor and in such person or persons as the President may appoint . . . . *until Congress shall provide for the government of said islands.*" Since the act in which these words occur was itself the product of Congress, it is obvious that Congress intended to make other and more satisfactory administrative arrangements later. But more than five years have passed since then and the matter has not yet been brought up in Congress.

In the meanwhile abuses have developed under this makeshift arrangement—as was to be expected—some from the essential nature of the arrangement itself, and others from the personal idiosyncrasies natural to certain classes of white men when dealing with black people in the tropics. For the population of the Virgin Islands is overwhelmingly colored—24,129 out of 26,051. And in that fact inhere many stiff problems.

The first section of the act already referred to provides that "The President may assign an officer of the Army or Navy to serve as such governor." As a matter of fact, the government of the Virgin Islands is for administrative purposes in the hands of the Navy Department exclusively and the effective personnel of that department have, unfortunately, shown themselves in Haiti, Santo Domingo, Nicaragua, and other places in the Caribbean area to be temperamentally unfitted for the delicate task of interpreting America's democratic intents to darker and weaker peoples. On this point one hardly needs to cite illustrations for the readers of *The Nation*. It is on record in the files of the local newspaper and in those of the Navy Department in Washington that shootings and beatings of the civilian population began in St. Croix and St. Thomas before the American occupation was a week old; and since then marines have many times "shot up" peaceful civilians. One of the worst of these incidents was the murderous attempt made upon D. Hamilton Jackson, a lawyer and leader among the black people of St. Croix, who had done perhaps more than any one man in that island to create public sentiment in favor of the transfer of sovereignty in the days which preceded the plebiscite upon which the Danish Crown acted.

At a recent joint meeting of the various Virgin Island societies of New York they said, among other things:

> We protest against the hitherto unheard-of doctrine of political serfdom which puts the government of an American colony into the hands of the Navy Department. We can readily understand how a conquered territory, prior to the establishment of civil government, can be administered under martial law by the military forces which had effected its subjugation; but we fail to find any precedent in the history or laws of the United States, or any other English-speaking country, for the present arrangement which turns over the civil rights of a free people whose territory was peaceably acquired by treaty and by purchase to the by no means tender mercies of that same Navy Department which has achieved such an unsavory reputation in Haiti; and we insist that the dignity and self-respect of the United States are involved until such time as the administration of the Virgin Islands is put under the appropriate department of the government.

When the American administrators landed in St. Croix they found a Negro people, industrious, capable, self-respecting, and friendly. These characteristics had been testified to by the Danish Government and by writers like Frederick A. Ober, Charles A. Taylor, Westegaard, Zabriskie, Faris, and DeBooy. But today—I have just returned from a visit to St. Croix—there is arising among these peaceful folk an exasperation which is not healthy and for whose existence we must blame the present naval administration.

New York, July 25 CASPER HOLSTEIN

We No Longer Take It for Granted

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In *The Nation* of May 3 George F. Gilmore whoops 'em up because Mr. Bryan was swatted editorially by *The Nation*. I wonder what can have induced a paper of *The Nation's* standing to yield even so much as nine lines of its precious space to an invective which, except from the viewpoint of easing Mr. Gilmore's private emotions, hasn't so much value as the average "testimonial" in a Hallelujah Mission meeting. It is a waste of space to say that much of what is termed religion is paraded in the swaddling clothes of ignorance and superstition, even as it would be wasting space to state (or deny) that much of what goes under the name of evolution or evolutionary "science" parades in the swaddling clothes of ignorance and credulity and fraud.

I wonder what Mr. Gilmore means by "ignorance." In a way I feel guilty. During the latter days of my boyhood, when I first ran across the theory of evolution (it was in Geikie's "Geology"), I was charmed by it as any thoroughbred evolutionist ever was, and forthwith made up my mind to justify my going over to the new creed by finding the necessary evidence. I searched. In my days of early manhood I listened to a most eloquent exposition of the nebular hypothesis among the most impressive surroundings on the top of Mt. Rubidoux. I was charmed as every little child was by any fairy tale. I searched on, in nature, in public and private libraries, in the very best and most up-to-date European and American periodicals. I am still searching, but no longer under the charm of the theory of evolution, but merely as a matter of justice toward a number of noble and learned men, to whom I look up, who believe the theory as "science," and whom I do not want to look upon as ignoramuses. I have given up hope that either I or anybody

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else will ever find conclusive evidence that evolution is more than an unproved theory. And so I feel guilty when people talk of ignorance within my hearing. I admire those up-to-date and wise people who, in order not to become apparent as ignorant and superstitious, fell for the gospel of evolution without stopping to ask for the evidence. I envy them when I see that they can remain professing Christians at the same time. But as for me, I can't bring myself to follow their example, and I feel guilty of ignorance. I try to get what human consolation I can out of the fact that a great number of real scientists, some of very high rank in biology and geology, have come to the same conclusion as I, and that a number of ardent evolutionists are still paying their evidence-bills with promissory notes drawn on the indefinite future. But I feel guilty of ignorance. I try to see a ray of hope in the fact that in Kentucky schools the teaching of evolution was saved by only one vote. (Why, in the name of common sense and the progressive party do they, in this twentieth century, elect such a dangerous minority of dunces into a State legislature?) Yet I feel guilty. I try to brace up when I think that even *The Nation* never brings any evidence for evolution, but simply takes for granted that all its readers share the Darwinian superstition.

ALBERT LEHENBAUER

Synodo Evangelico Lutherano do Brasil
Parochia Urwahnfried, Col. Guarany,
Rio Grande do Sul, Brasil, May 29

Going Up, But Not Yet On High

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I note your editorial paragraph in the August 9 *Nation* ending "The church is going down hill." I heard the address of William Austin Smith at the Conference of the Fellowship of a Christian Social Order from which you quote. I "had sufficient grace to be a pacifist" during the war, and so I welcome the conversion of prominent churchmen such as Dr. Smith and others who could be mentioned as a sign that the church is coming up, not "going down."

The church "aided the bestial business" of war, because the press, business, the government, charitable and social agencies, told it to come on in. The church is showing signs of repentance, somewhat more frankly and self-critically than the others, I think. The Protestant church is one of the very few organizations in which it is a popular thing to knock. Why should not *The Nation* count it a sign of hope that Dr. Smith's address was enthusiastically welcomed by a gathering of church people from many denominations and various parts of the country and heartily commended for wide publication in all the religious papers?

The church has a hard time being Christian, at least in public affairs, getting its information from the press, the daily teaching of its children from the public schools, and its orders and appeals to loyalty from the Government. It is made up of the people of the United States—just folks. But there are signs of repentance in the church which I do not note elsewhere. There is good authority for holding that the man who said "God be merciful to me, a sinner," was coming up.

Larchmont, New York, August 5 CHARLES L. CARHART

A Unitarian Minister on Mississippi

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I was born at Summit, Mississippi, November 19, 1893, and lived there for four years, when my family moved to McComb, Mississippi. At the latter place I lived for fourteen years, moving from there in 1911 to Memphis, Tennessee. I am at present a registered voter at Jackson, Mississippi, where my parents now live. Being born and reared in the State of Mississippi I should know something about the State, and I feel that I do, and I agree with everything that Beulah Amidon Ratliff has said about Mississippi in both her articles in *The Nation*. Eleven years ago I would not have made the latter statement, but would have been a very sarcastic critic of Mrs. Beulah Ratliff. What has made that change in my viewpoint? I have become emancipated from the provincialism of not only Mississippi, but of the South, because I dared to think. What has made me think? I have traveled over the North, been abroad, and attended two Northern colleges, and all the time I was receptive to new ideas.

There is one thing more Mrs. Ratliff could have mentioned, namely, that Mississippi and Arkansas are the only two States in this country which have not at least one liberal church. By a liberal church I mean one which has broken with orthodox theology and has not a single dogmatic theological statement to which the members must subscribe. Every State in this country has at least one such church, except the States of Arkansas and Mississippi. Theological orthodoxy and racial orthodoxy are holding Mississippi back from progressing. Before I was emancipated from the theological and racial orthodoxy of the South I not only saw, but helped to do, worse things toward Negroes than were described in the article Mississippi, the Heart of Dixie.

New Orleans, Louisiana, August 2 J. B. TEGARDEN

An Appeal for a Most Worthy Work

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I hope you will give me space to appeal to you on behalf of the work of the Protestant Deaconesses in Speyer on the Rhine where they maintain a hospital, a home for orphans, a retreat for aged women, and the training school in which the 440 deaconess-nurses now on duty have been trained—there are six branch institutions outside of Speyer. In every one of these the sick poor are cared for irrespective of race or creed—and, now it must be added, strange as it seems for Germany—or color. The war and the post-war strain have put this noble institution—first housed by the generosity of an American—so heavily in debt as to jeopardize its existence. Yet the 1,400,000 marks it needs call for only $2,750—of which $1,300 is already on hand. If any of *The Nation's* readers will help, their gifts will be sent direct and without any expense. Thirty-six dollars will fit up a much needed roof garden. Four hundred dollars will supply necessary linen and clothing for the nursing sisters who are hardly able to appear for lack of suitable garments. No other institution is doing similar work which is all the more vital because Speyer lies in the zone occupied by colored French troops.

New York, July 21 THEODORE KEMM

[We shall be glad to receive, acknowledge, and forward direct to Speyer any sums our readers may be willing to contribute.—EDITOR THE NATION.]

The Bias in Our Law Enforcement

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In reference to your note on free speech, in *The Nation* of August 2, it has frequently occurred to me that we are very biased in our ideas of law enforcement. We are spending $170,000,000 a year in an attempt to enforce the dubious Eighteenth Amendment and nothing a year to enforce the First Amendment, which is the foundation of liberty. The Fourth and Fifth amendments also seem to be in the discard, probably others. The large sum mentioned ought to be devoted to a general enforcement, not to an invidious selection. Those ladies and gentlemen who are so busy just now with a platform of what they call "law enforcement" would then be better justified.

Berkeley, California, August 4 COURTNEY ROWLAND

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Books

The Origin of Christian Science

The Quimby Manuscripts. Showing the Discovery of Spiritual Healing and the Origin of Christian Science. Edited by Horatio W. Dresser. Thomas Y. Crowell Company. $3.

TO determine the sources from which Mrs. Eddy derived the ideas and practices which developed into the cult of Christian Science is important in view of the large numbers of adherents to this strange latter-day philosophy, and in view of the natural wonder that so limited a mind as Mrs. Eddy's could have produced even the groundwork of the writings upon which the cult rests its faith. The present volume furnishes the circumstantial evidence for the view which all critical writers had reached: that the source was "Dr." P. P. Quimby—an original personality whom William James would have been pleased to include in his "Varieties of Religious Experience" had he known the man. The volume is at once an historical document and a tribute to a career which is distinctive and in the light of the sequel important in the history of native American philosophy.

The story has waited half a century and more to be told, for Quimby died in 1865 and his writings date from 1859 to his death. His life was one of active practice; and only in mature years did he formulate the tenets that supported his clinical experience. He had the mechanical turn of the Yankee, was a clock-maker and inventor, but was primarily an inquirer in the psychological domain, with a strong, albeit a skeptical, religious bent. The great truth which he discovered for himself was the reality of the mental element in health and the cure of disease. He became a spiritual healer, and his patients became his disciples, absorbing his doctrines and copying his methods. One of them was Mrs. Eddy (then Mrs. Patterson) who wrote to him in 1862: "I have been sick six years with spinal inflammation and its train of sufferings gastric and bilious. . . . I must die unless you can save me." In 1864, much benefited by her treatment, though still up and down in health, she posted "at the public marts" of Warren, Maine, this notice: "Mrs. M. M. Patterson will lecture at the Town Hall one week from next Wednesday on P. P. Quimby's spiritual science healing disease—as opposed to Deism or Rochester Rapping Spiritualism."

We must not look for critical distinctions in the system of a self-taught New England healer of fifty years ago. He was affected by the successive "mental" or "psychic" movements of his day, in the first instance by "animal magnetism," or "mesmerism," which came to this country through a French mesmerist whose performance Quimby witnessed at his home in Belfast, Maine, in 1838. For a time he practiced and believed in animal magnetism, putting his subjects to sleep, and by exercise of the "fluids" controlling their actions and ideas. As then practiced mesmerism involved the diagnosis by the mesmerized subject of the diseases of others and prescriptions for their cure; this was ascribed to a clairvoyant sense actually discerning the diseased organs, as by a spiritual X-ray. These more material practices Quimby soon abandoned, for he found that his subjects would obey a mental suggestion; and he found in his own person (for after an invalidism of many years he experienced a sudden restoration) the principle that disease is "a deranged state of mind," the cure resulting when the belief was changed. "Man is made up of truth and belief; and if he is deceived into a belief that he has, or is likely to have, a disease, the belief is catching, and the effect follows it. I have given the experience of my emancipation from this belief and from confidence in the doctors, so that it may open the eyes of those who stand where I was. . . . My theory teaches man to manufacture health; and when people go into this occupation disease will diminish, and those who furnish disease and death will be few and scarce."

Mrs. Eddy never outgrew her repugnance to the physical manipulations of the mesmeric period; this and the fear that others might do harm by malicious wishes—after the manner of primitive charms and spells—became the basis of her personal delusion of "malicious animal magnetism," which pursued her for life. To avoid it she assembled her pupils and had them exert a counter-influence; she ascribed the death of one of her husbands to mental poison; she accused her assistants after breaking with them of practicing the same witchcraft, the trial by the irony of fate taking place at Salem.

When the Spiritualistic movement came along in 1847 it attracted to its orbit all similar modes of thought, especially the notions of clairvoyance; so that it became important for Quimby and his followers to make it plain that they had no connection with the Rochester rappings. The central idea of Christian Science—and no less the term itself—is Quimby's, and is repeated and developed endlessly. The terminology, the mode of statement, the philosophy, the refutations, the arguments and defenses, the statements and assertions, the citing of illustrations, the ultimate identification of the Science of Health with Christ's mission, the Biblical allusions and metaphors that make up the body of Mrs. Eddy's "Science and Health," which she insisted came to her as a special revelation, are all to be found unmistakably in the Quimby manuscripts.

"At last I found that mind was something that could be changed. I called it spiritual matter, because I found that it could be condensed into a solid and receive a name called 'tumor,' and by the same power under a different direction it might be dissolved and made to disappear. . . . The creating of disease is under the superstition of man's belief. . . . I found that there is a Wisdom that can be applied to these errors or evils that can put man in possession of a Science that will not only destroy the evil but will hold up its serpent head, as Moses in the wilderness held up the errors of religious creeds, and all that looked upon his explanations were cured of the disease that followed their beliefs."

Quimby's manuscripts were circulated among his pupils; and Mrs. Eddy, living at Stoughton, Massachusetts, from 1868 to 1870, left there a manuscript known as "Extracts from P. P. Quimby's Writings" on which she based her teachings of this period and later. In 1872 she claimed this manuscript as her own, and after 1875, when she published "Science and Health," the text was altered more and more toward the style of her Christian Science doctrines. In 1882 culminated one of the many quarrels she had with her pupils; for she never had the energy or personality to practice, always leaning upon others, usually a young man. The claim of Mr. E. J. Arens of his right to publish the new ideas as the work of Quimby and not as the revelation to Mrs. Eddy was brought to court. Mrs. Eddy won because George Quimby, the son, refused to present the Quimby manuscripts in court. From time to time in the years following, largely through the efforts of Mr. H. W. Dresser, who in turn carried on the interest of his father, Julius A. Dresser, an early convert and steady advocate of the Quimby system of mental cure, the truth was made known through extracts from the manuscripts and their deadly parallel with the revelations of Mrs. Eddy. Notably the painstaking biography of Miss Milmine (1907) traced the origin of Christian Science back to the writings of Dr. Quimby, and through the files of local newspapers laid bare the step-by-step assimilations of the founder of Christian Science. More than that: she discovered copies of the Quimby manuscripts which Mrs. Eddy had had her students prepare. She wrote to Mr. George Quimby in 1905: "This manuscript of your father's was used largely to form a chapter called Recapitulation in 'Science and Health' in later years; but with each new edition it was revised until the present chapter of that title is a long way off from the original. . . . So everybody who is learning C. S. healing today is learning the essential truth almost directly from your father's old manuscript, as in the beginning. The rest of C. S. and all the objectionable part is simply 'frills' added by Mrs. Eddy."

Mr. George Quimby could never be persuaded that the time had come to publish the full evidence; it was only after his

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death when all the controversial excitement had died away that his widow released the manuscripts and placed them, in 1921, in the hands of Mr. H. W. Dresser for publication in their present form.

Mrs. Eddy had a certain verbal facility of a provincial order, combined with an imitative fluency that at times rose above the meaningless patter of which so much of her writings are composed. In her early days, she even ventured upon a labored sonnet in praise of Quimby's cures, and another in lamentation of his death. The phrase "mortal mind"—not the idea—is her own; as are also such notions as that words when arranged to read the same backward and forward add to their truth or "demonstration." The success of the movement that came more and more to assume an idolatry of the founder, Mother Eddy, was largely the work of the able executives of the organization.

Such in brief is the strange history of one of the strangest religious movements of modern times, strange precisely because of the modern setting in which it made its way. That the vogue of the Eddy terminology has brought it about that the word "Science" is almost as often used in the Eddyan as in the authentic sense is a consummation of no mean order.

JOSEPH JASTROW

Through a Glass

Narcissus. By Evelyn Scott. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $2.

IN her second novel Mrs. Scott continues the fable and broadens the theme of her first. The "narrow house" of thick and crippling domesticity has been left behind. The older generation that made the house narrow has withdrawn into a shadowy background. The present characters live freely; they live, indeed, with an aimless fluidity dictated only by their shifting moods. The result is, quite naturally, that they are as much imprisoned as ever, having exchanged a prison-house of custom and rancor for one of flesh and nerves.

Mrs. Scott is evidently convinced that no other outcome was possible. That belief makes clear her chief limitation. She is determined to admit into her scheme of things neither the mind nor the heart, neither reflection nor the affections. One has the suspicion that she considers these elements of human life as played out as stage coaches. Today, according to her, civilized people live by their passions and their nerves alone. That is simply not a fact, but a rather sterile delusion of the young, the gifted, and the consciously sophisticated. Nor do such writers, among whom Mrs. Scott definitely belongs, handle adequately even those passions to which their characters are so constantly given. Everything is, in the end, tepid and tame. The faint glimmer that life has for them never becomes either heat or light. The resultant report of man and nature is as unveracious in essence as the less interesting report given by the furiously optimistic and sentimental. Except at moments, except for a page, Evelyn Scott is as far from the true center of things as Gene Stratton-Porter. She is, of course, infinitely more civilized.

She goes wrong, to use a coarse but convenient word, for two reasons—a psychological one and a technical one. She has learned that the greater part of the inner life is lived below the threshold of consciousness. She has forgotten that what wells up out of those obscure depths is censored, controlled, guided, however feebly and foolishly, by that conscious mind which remembers and weighs issues and meditates and plans. It may be that we are wholly at the mercy of the subconscious. We are all convinced of the contrary and act upon that conviction. We cling tenaciously to our own minds. Mrs. Scott represents Laurence Farley as an able scientist. But he, like Julia and Dudley Allen and May and Paul, is never shown as reflecting, but always as drifting with the association chains that pass through his mind as film is passed through a cinematograph.

This picture of the inner life is refuted by the most elementary technical process of psychoanalysis, a science to which Mrs. Scott is evidently devoted. The practitioner who desires to tap the subconscious mind of the patient must persuade that patient to discontinue the habits of censorship and reflection, of spiritual and intellectual guidance which make up the conscious life. Hence to give largely uncensored association chains may be good psychotherapy; it is neither life nor art. It leaves character without definition and leaves the world seen by the characters thin, bloodless, and ghastly.

Mrs. Scott's technical error is bound up with her psychical one. Her book has neither continuity of surface nor sustaining inner structure. Form is to her not an instrument and means of creatively organizing and so clarifying her substance. Her faintly beautiful prose glides and drifts and slips hither and thither without object or direction. In its texture there is no continuous pattern; her pattern is a deliberate absence of pattern. It is all done earnestly in the pursuit of truth. One can only say that truth is not to be captured in this fashion.

The pertinence of this criticism is unwittingly illustrated by Mrs. Scott herself. Suddenly on a certain page she abandons her usual method and plunges into a descriptive analysis of two new characters, the Hursts. These soon stand out in brilliant relief. They are vital and convincing; the delineation of them is rich and profound and shows what Mrs. Scott can do when she abandons her pursuit of faintly strange felicities and her overwhelming dedication to the merely recondite. The latter is the snare in which at present her admirable talent is caught. She should struggle to free from it her uncommon acuteness of vision and charm of style.

LUDWIG LEWISOHN

Nonagenarian

Novissima Verba: Last Words. By Frederic Harrison. Henry Holt and Company. $3.

IN these "last words" Frederic Harrison offers, he explains in a prefatory note, "my deliberate judgment on urgent problems of state, still far from solution or settlement." He views with alarm a Europe over which hang bankruptcy, war, and revolution, and an England whom trades unions and the Irish are shaking, whose Parliament is an "effete institution," and whose very constitution is "antique, unique, and abnormal." "In such a state of things," Mr. Harrison observes with the accrued experience of ninety years, "the wise man who takes a detached view of public affairs in a remote retreat will withhold his judgment until better advised."

Perhaps Mr. Harrison does withhold his judgment. He is free enough, at any rate, with his comment. Sitting in Bath he looks backward in elegiac mood to the days of his own activity, while indicting the third generation of his contemporaries for the moral and political imbroglio of the world of 1920. Mr. Harrison is inclined chiefly to blame America for his spiritual distress; the wrangle of the United States Senate over the League of Nations, the failure of Wilsonian idealism as Mr. Harrison puts it "to compose the world," seem to him to be little short of traitorous. Mr. Harrison, indeed, states the important post-war problems clearly, though with a bit of hysteria. One notes in his treatment of them, despite the fact that he is an old Liberal of the generation of J. S. Mill, G. H. Lewes, and Matthew Arnold, that Mr. Harrison has experienced to some extent the crystallization of sympathies which made Carlyle such a good Tory in his later years. The trades unions which, as a young lawyer keenly interested in public affairs, Mr. Harrison helped to procure a hearing in the late sixties, have lost his sympathy as they have achieved power and prosperity. "What was once a movement to equalize the resources of Labor in dealing with Capital has degenerated into a vast social war to eliminate Capital," he writes. Before the aggressions of organized labor and the insidious advance of Rus-

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sian radical thought, Mr. Harrison declares for the *status quo*. He thinks and talks about Merry England. One almost wishes for him the cheery companionship of Alfred Austin, that between them they might keep lively in their minds the contrasts between these dark days and the happy Arcadia which produced Robert Owen and the Chartist movement.

Mr. Harrison's judgments on literature are as impeccable as one would expect from a respectable British essayist and an honorary Fellow of Wadham College, Oxford. He notices a new translation into English of the "Song of Roland," comments favorably upon a recent blank-verse rendering of Lucretius, and compares Gilbert Murray's new "Agamemnon" with that of Euripides, to the advantage of the latter. He recalls in connection with Arthur S. Way's recent version of Sappho that "exactly seventy years ago I told my college tutor —who seemed not to have read them—that 'the world has never produced the equal of these odes' "; and that he wrote a "Life of Sappho" in 1892. Mr. Harrison has indeed a remarkable memory. The reference to what he has formerly said and thought of men and affairs constitutes an important adjunct to his literary method. In noticing Hardy's lyrics he reminds the reader gently that "I was one of the very first to honor the genius of Thomas Hardy." Nor has the George Eliot boom left him behind. Indeed, he anticipated it. "The estimates of George Eliot called out by her centenary support, I think, what I have said in more than one review of her work." Turning to affairs: "Twenty years ago I published in my 'Memoirs' my deep conviction that they [the United States] hold 'the crucial pivots on which the future of humanity will turn, so that the van of human progress will ultimately turn toward the West." His "Last Words" carry the conviction, however, that the West has dropped the cause of human progress at a crucial moment. The trouble with America, in brief, was Wilson. The trouble with Wilson was "a case of *cephalitis turgida*," or, without the palliating Latinism, "swelled head." France, America, even "British good sense" succumbed. "We were hoodwinked," Mr. Harrison admits, adding shyly, "I know that I was."

The pen, it seems, which has been industrious for so long has begun to falter a bit. Mr. Harrison was not wont in the days of his "Positive Evolution of Religion," "The Meaning of History," and "On Society" to reveal to us a mastery of the sententious phrase, or to shake at us in this wise the chiding, grandfatherly finger.

GERALD H. CARSON

How to Live

The Book of Life. By Upton Sinclair. Pasadena: Upton Sinclair. $1.50.

"IS book reviewing a public service or a private vendetta?" inquires Mr. Sinclair in an open letter to literary editors of certain journals—*The Nation* is not included—who seem disposed to boycott his book. Such a challenge makes a reviewer timid and self-conscious, but it is hoped that this review will be regarded as a public service.

Mr. Sinclair having, he says, made many distressing mistakes and learned much from them, looks about, observes others making the same mistakes, and desires to save them by communicating his painfully acquired knowledge. The effort is to give "everyday human beings the everyday information they need for the successful living of their lives." This everyday information is divided into four sections: the Book of the Mind, the Book of the Body, the Book of Love, and the Book of Society. The temptation merely to enumerate the contents becomes irresistible after a glance at the index: Socialism, Sophocles, sore throat; sugar, surgery, survival; love, lust, Luther; James, Jesus, John Barleycorn; rice, Rockefeller, Roosevelt, rugs, rupture; Maeterlinck, malaria; hair, hallucinations, Hamlet; communist, complete fast, Comstock; morality, Morgan, Mormon. There are thought-provoking combinations here. The index stabs one with the same reflection upon life that Mr. Sinclair quotes from a hobo: "By God, it's a queer thing, ain't it, mate?"

"The Book of Life" is almost as picturesque and as comprehensive as these haphazard selections from the index suggest. But it is also—the index does not suggest this!—coherent and well-organized. Mr. Sinclair's fundamental assumption is that life is growth, and the purpose of life is "the continuous unfolding of its powers, its growth into higher forms, . . . more complex and subtly contrived, capable of more intense and enduring kinds of that satisfaction which is nature's warrant of life." On the basis of this assumption he considers how we may best use our minds and develop our bodies to further the purpose of life; and how we may secure health and happiness in our sex relations and establish social conditions that will foster human life and promote its development. He sets forth his opinions and his reasons for them with his usual vigor, courage, and frankness, but offers little in the way of proof that would convince the doubting. Obviously that would be impossible in four hundred pages. Imagine adequate documentation of positions on birth control, psychic manifestations, prostitution, Freudian psychology, the Russian Revolution, divorce, the inspiration of the Bible, the materialistic interpretation of history—to mention just a few of the topics that enter into the discussion.

To take a comparatively trivial example. If a woman reader of this book is addicted to cigarettes, merely to be informed that all authorities agree about the bad effects of smoking on the female organism is not convincing. She will probably light another cigarette, imagining that it enhances the pleasure of reading Mr. Sinclair, and vaguely resolve to look up some of these unnamed authorities at leisure. Several of the efforts at documentation are unsatisfactory. For instance, in answer to Mr. Floyd Dell's criticism of two chapters in the Book of Love as "too severe," Mr. Sinclair quotes newspaper support. Now no one has done more than Mr. Sinclair himself to destroy our faith in newspaper veracity. To undermine the foundations and then build on them is imprudent.

The advice is often admirable—if we only knew how to follow it. "Learn to think straight. Let your mind be as a sharp scalpel, penetrating unrealities and falsehoods, cutting its way to the facts." But *how* learn to think straight? A few of us would prefer to think like John Dewey, say, or Anatole France, but we have not learned how. And most of us—even writers of editorials and book reviews—think that we think straight already.

Whether the book saves its readers from making Mr. Sinclair's mistakes or not, it is eminently readable. One never knows what is going to turn up in connection with even very unpromising subjects. Mr. Sinclair's experiences with cures for falling hair are interesting enough, but it is more interesting to find out that Jack London and he, who agreed in discarding hats, were often embarrassed because hallboys and porters sometimes mistook their economic status. Jack London was not forced, as was Mr. Sinclair, to explain his reasons for unconventional dress; it was his custom, he said, to knock down the elevator boys and sleeping-car porters. And what could be more delightful, in a discussion of ventilation, than to encounter this passage: "One of the most perfect systems I ever inspected is in the building of the New York Stock Exchange, where the air is warmed in winter, and cooled in summer, and freed from dust, and exactly the right quantity is supplied. It is a humorous commentary on our civilization that we take perfect care of the breathing apparatus of our stock-gamblers, but pay no attention to the breathing apparatus of our senators and congressmen, whose one business in life is to use their lungs. The stately old building with its white marble domes looks impressive in moving pictures and on illustrated post cards, but it has no system of ventilation whatever, and is a death-trap to the poor wretches who are compelled to spend their days, and sometimes their nights, within its walls. This contrast is one symptom of the rise of industrial capitalism and the collapse of political democracy."

DOROTHY BREWSTER

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International Relations Section

A Call to Arms in Italy

THE storm of civil warfare in Italy, in which soldiers and workers and Fascisti have joined in a bloody and fruitless combat, was brewing for many weeks before it finally broke. The manifesto to the workers and peasants, issued some weeks ago by the Communist Party of Italy, anticipated the bloodshed which was to follow.

Workers and Peasants of Italy!

The whirlwind of the attack of the reactionary forces is being let loose to drive you from your positions and to destroy the organizations which you have kept alive by your tireless resistance and solidarity during the months of doubtful and desperate struggle.

The workers of Bologna and the farm laborers of the Bologna districts are again the first to meet the onslaught of the enemy. There is a campaign on foot to destroy the organizations which they have built up and bravely defended, and to wipe out all trace of the gains and rights of the proletariat. Beating, wounding, assassination, burning, plundering, and terrorizing have spread through whole regions—such are the weapons used against the unhappy and heroic working-class of Bologna.

But from Bologna the fearful flood of open war against the proletariat threatens to spread to other districts. One by one all your strongholds are being attacked.

In such times the employers unleash their attack against the metal-workers to force them once again to bend to their will, deceiving themselves into thinking that if they conquer this vanguard of labor they will be able to tear into bits the agreements which guarantee the gains of the workers in the other trades.

Workers and Peasants!

Your comrades, your brothers of Bologna ask for your help! You know that in Bologna a battle is being fought which concerns you all. The beginning of the employers' offensive must be stopped! General action must be started against it, calling upon all classes of the workers of Italy to regain their freedom. The enemy must not be allowed to break up one by one the strongholds of proletarian defense while the other groups of workers stand around in an impotent and fruitless confusion.

You will still have the upper hand if against the armed offensive of reaction and the employing class you can bring the pressure of your solid and disciplined forces with a *united front* in a proletarian uprising.

The united front for defense and liberation must become a reality! This you must seek from the heads of the trade unions which represent all the strength of the working-class; this you must seek from the Labor Alliance which was formed for the very purpose of preparing and guiding the struggle for defense and conquest.

While the enemy concentrates all its forces on one point in the proletarian front to smash it and establish the possibility of penetrating the other parts of your line, the attack must be answered with general action.

Hesitation, doubts, delay, confused parliamentary maneuvers, are all things which aid the enemy. The enemy can be checked only by hurling against it the whole working-class disciplined for the struggle.

Workers and Peasants of Italy!

Make it understood by the organizations which want to assume the responsibility of leading you that this is your desire. In your meetings and committees see that your representatives do this and try to keep the Labor Alliance up to its duty.

Do not let the attack of the enemy increase in intensity before your inertia and lack of unity. Draw up between yourselves a new pledge of alliance for the supreme struggle, organize the united front of the will and energy of you all, and prepare for action.

This order is issued to you by the Communist Party, which is ready to struggle with you in the front ranks with all its strength.

Long live solidarity with the Bologna proletariat and with the metal workers, the vanguard of all the workers and peasants of Italy!

Long live general action for the rise of the proletariat in the fields and in the workshops!

Long live the united front of action and struggle of the whole working-class!

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ITALY.

Italy's Radicals: Where They Stand

WITH industrial and social turmoil still menacing Italy it is important to locate the present factions in the Italian labor movement. The following resolutions, presented at the recent National Congress of the General Federation of Labor at Genoa, indicate clearly the position of the more important groups on the Left of the present struggle.

THE FEDERATION RESOLUTION

This resolution represents the feeling of the members of the Federation who support the methods of the present leaders, who believe in the collaboration of the Socialist Party with bourgeois groups in Parliament and in the adherence of the Federation to the Amsterdam International.

The National Congress of the General Federation of Labor, having heard the report of the Executive Board, approves it; and having carefully considered the present situation of the proletarian organizations, which are harassed by the furious legal and extra-legal reaction which checks their activities and hampers their freedom of action, expresses its full approval of the Zirardini resolution adopted last January, which called upon the party executives to authorize the Socialist Parliamentary Group to support any government which would guarantee the reestablishment of elementary liberties and offer a program containing the more immediate demands of the proletariat.

The National Congress expresses its desire to maintain the alliance agreement [with the Socialist Party], and votes once more to have the Socialist Party understand the seriousness of the period through which the Italian proletariat is passing, and to hear the cries of the working-class which, while it is preparing throughout the country to defend its very existence, is waiting for the congress of the Italian Socialist Party to authorize the Parliamentary Group to follow a course which, coordinated with mass action, will give expression to the will of the labor movement.

THE RESOLUTION OF THE MAXIMALISTS

The Maximalist group, led by Serrati, represents the left wing of the Socialist Party.

The National Congress of the General Federation of Labor maintains that the economic organization of the proletariat aims to organize the proletarian defense movement in such a way that separate struggles shall gradually be replaced by united action tending to raise the standard of living for the whole working-class, and to convince it that every increase in wages or separate gain (which is valueless in the long run if the working-class does not carry on a more effective campaign against the political and economic power, so that a free and humane social organization shall replace the institution of pri-

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ate property) is a step toward the common ownership of the ieans of production and exchange.

In order to attain these ends, the Federation accepts the prin-ple of the intransigent struggle of the proletariat against the ourgeois class; consequently it rejects all those proposals which, owever disguised, would confine the working-class struggle to mits of legality and which tend to compromise its character f class organization and to carry on work of reconstruction hich would deliver capitalism from the crisis resulting from ie World War.

The National Congress maintains that the action of the Gen-ral Federation of Labor in upholding the alliance with the alian Socialist Party, which is a step toward this same prin-ple in the political field and is an expression of the will of the asses both nationally and internationally, promotes agree-ents with the other revolutionary anti-legal parties which are orming the united front.

The National Congress votes to press immediate action par-cularly:

1. For the abrogation of the harmful peace treaties and gainst the danger of new war;
2. For the recognition of the Socialist Republic of the Soviets;
3. Against reaction, organizing the offensive and defensive esistance of the working-class;
4. For the defense of the gains already obtained by the work-g-class (eight-hour day, labor contracts, political and syndical berty, etc.).

To this end all the organizations of the workers' movement re instructed to maintain the strictest discipline, considering hat if individual and separate action is always dangerous even n the normal times of the class struggle, it is extremely harm-ul in reactionary periods when the struggle is so acute as to ssume the form of civil war.

The Communist Resolution

The Communist group in the congress opposes all the olicies of the administration, including the alliance with he Socialist Party, and supports the Labor Alliance, organ f the "united front."

The National Congress of the General Federation of Labor,

Considering that the course followed by the Federation leaders hen confronted by the offensive of the employing class, a ourse characterized by tactics of individual action, non-resist-nce to reaction, the use of the industrial commission as a sop, nd by the clever campaign carried on against the Labor Al-ance, has paralyzed the defense and recovery of the proletariat;

Considering that in the international field the Federation aders, who finally obtained adherence to Amsterdam under the retext of following out a policy of criticism, lined up solidly ith the counter-revolutionary policy of the yellow international,

Maintains that the policy of the Federation leaders is con-rary to the principles and to the demands o fthe class struggle nd condemns it.

Considering that the work of the Amsterdam Trade Union nternational is contrary to the interests and ideals of the pro-tariat and is by its very nature solidly behind the reactionary olicy of the bourgeoisie throughout the world, and that its orts are directed to the reconstruction of the capitalist regime hich suffered greatly from the crisis,

Sends its greetings to the glorious revolutionary republic of ie Russian proletariat, which is struggling against attacks on ll sides by the forces of world reaction, and votes to put before ie masses, through an immediate Federation Congress, the uestion of withdrawing from the Amsterdam Trade Union In-rnational and joining the Red Trade Union International of oscow.

Considering that the bonds between the unions and political arties are established in so far as the political parties succeed creating within the unions nuclei of their own followers who re pledged to work according to the policy of their party;

Considering that the alliance agreement existing between the Socialist Party and the General Federation of Labor creates a confusing situation for the most important class organization of the Italian proletariat, and that in confirming it the Federation would pledge itself to a policy which would shift from one extreme to another in a way that could not be foreseen and might even be quite opposed to the will of the majority of the present Federation Congress,

Denounces the alliance agreement between the Federation and the Socialist Party.

And considering that the reactionary offensive of the employers in all its economic and political manifestations is the result of a plan to crush the proletarian movement—a plan which the employing class looks upon as the only escape from its present situation and the only hope for regaining economic and political domination;

And that the situation in Italy is characterized by the critical condition of capitalist institutions in spite of the violent counter-attack with which they are defending themselves, and by the sufferings of the proletariat in its search for an outlet from the unbearable conditions forced upon them by wage-cuts, unemployment, Fascisti attacks, and all the other forms of persecution resulting from the class policy of the bourgeoisie and of the state;

Considering that the proposal to utilize the political power of the proletarian organizations for parliamentary combinations and for the formation of a government based on compromise between various bourgeois political factions and the representatives of the proletariat, which would result in the disarming of the proletariat and the shattering of their hopes, much to the advantage of the forces of conservatism,

Maintains that, faced with the disastrous alternative of the triumph of the bourgeois attack and the suppression of every proletarian movement and organization, there is no other course open than to line up all the proletarian forces for united action which shall take the place of individual struggles, and bring together all the points of the employers' attack and aim for the following immediate conquests:

1. Eight-hour day for all workers;
2. A halt in the reduction of wages to save the proletariat from hunger and make possible a more tolerable standard of living for the producers;
3. Enforcement and general renewal of all the labor agreements in industry and agriculture;
4. Defense of the organization against attacks by reactionary elements;
5. Insurance for unemployed workers and their families, at the expense of the employers and the state;
6. Organization control over hiring and firing.

It estimates the value and importance of such a battle to be the assertion of the capacity of the proletarian organizations for action on a platform of unity and the lining up of the forces of the working-class in strategic positions for strengthening and increasing their preparation and moral and material efficiency for the final struggles and the greatest conquests, thus developing a revolutionary class policy, which will substitute for the misleading aims of collaboration and legality the spirit of direct resistance to the reactionary forces and the establishment of the government of workers and peasants; and

Maintains that working-class action must be initiated and directed by the Labor Alliance, and that all the political groups and parties of the proletariat should pledge their support and the discipline of their members and that the struggle must be centered on the situation created by a critical moment of the bourgeois attack, such as the present metal-workers' struggle.

And resolves:

That the Federation of Labor shall immediately call together the Labor Alliance, possibly while this same congress is still in session, and propose to this body to arrange a national general strike as described above;

And lastly turns to the nomination of the Federation delega-

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tion within the Labor Alliance on a proportional basis according to the tendencies which are represented in this congress.

Resolution of the Third International Group

This group has remained in the Socialist Party as its extreme left wing but its policy is similar to that of the Communists.

Whereas the present Executive Board of the Federation has successfully avoided any effective utilization of the syndical elements, carrying on propaganda aimed at keeping the proletariat in ignorance of the true situation and convincing them that their only salvation is in alliance with bourgeois parliamentary groups, and denying the latent power of solidarity among the various groups of workers under the pressure of the offensive of the employers, who are united in their attempt to defeat the proletariat;

Whereas the various organs of control and investigation of industry which have been established for the purposes described above have proved ineffective;

Whereas, moreover, the present leaders, in failing to oppose the work of collaboration with the bourgeoisie which has been carried on by the leaders of the Amsterdam International, and even supporting them by pledging the power of the proletariat for the economic reconstruction of capitalism, have not lived up to the pledges they made at the Congress of Leghorn and the National Congress of Verona; [the present congress]

Disapproves of the work of the present Executive Board of the General Federation of Labor;

Maintaining that the proletariat must form a bloc of its own forces, since it is generally understood that the bourgeoisie has a better chance of winning when it can fight locally and in separate divisions by concentrating its repressive force on one working-class organization after the other;

Votes to have the Labor Alliance become the unit of action of the syndical forces of the proletariat, assuming the direction of the defense of the eight-hour day, opposition to wage-cuts and the lowering of the standard of living, protection of the interests of the unemployed and their families, by means of the coordinated action of the masses and the national general strike, which must be definitely and carefully prepared for.

The Marzetto resolution, representing the opinion of the centrist group of the Socialist Party, favors the alliance with the Socialist Party, and calls upon the Socialist Party to carry on a parliamentary policy which, avoiding all participation in power, provides an effective defense of the economic and political organizations of the proletariat.

The result of the vote on these five resolutions is shown in the following table:

Federation	537,351
Communist	250,472
Maximalist	249,519
Third International	34,784
Centrist	43,533
Not voting	13,000

This vote gives a small margin of victory to the forces favoring an alliance with the Socialists but its importance lies in the victory won by the forces opposing collaboration with bourgeois parties—all groups except the Federation faction.

This fact was considered by the press of Italy as of the greatest importance, indicating the purpose of the congress to commit labor to a strict class struggle.

More Light on Italy's Class War:
Documents on the Recent Metal Workers' Strike
In Our Next Issue

Commandment I
"I Am Jehovah Thy God"

Exodus, xx:2.
אנכי יהוה אלהיך

or

Jehovah is the God

Americanism the Religion

Morality may not pave one's way to heaven, but it is essential to human happiness.

Morality like patriotism cannot be preached. Each must assert itself by adhering to and practice of a certain set of laws. The highest moral standard will assert itself by living up to the Ten Commandments, particularly the second covering the evil of idolatry. The highest form of patriotism will assert itself when we will live Americanism.

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